The Social Contract

Vol. IX, No. 3 Spring 1999

Highlights

Reflections after forty years on C.P. Snow's famous lecture 'The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution' are given by:

Antony Flew
Garrett Hardin
John Cairns, Jr.
Derek Turner
Otis L. Graham, Jr.
David G. Payne
Richard D. Lamm and
Miles Wolpin

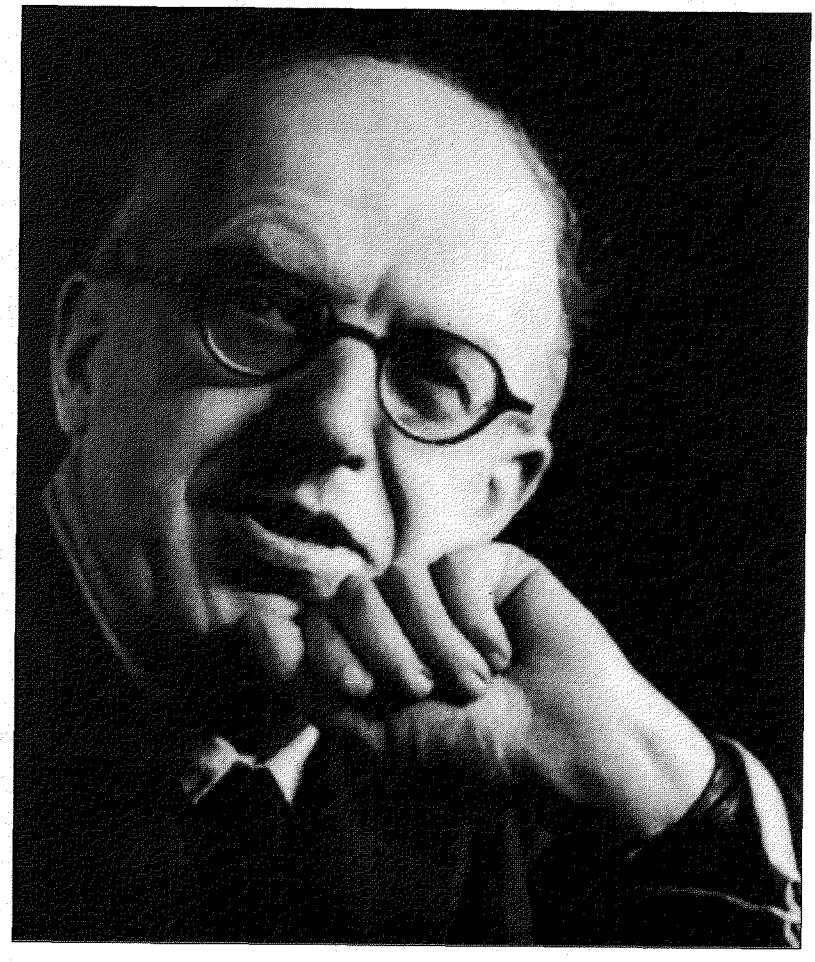
Joseph Fallon has reviewed the testimony supporting the 1965 immigration act to discover how wrong those promises were.

Restoration ecologist Craig Straub responds to the economic optimism of Walter Williams.

An Austrian citizen gives a helpful background to the Kosovo crisis.

Four books are reviewed including E. O. Wilson's *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge.*

C.P. Snow's 'The Two Cultures' Revisited



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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. IX, No. 3 Spring 1999

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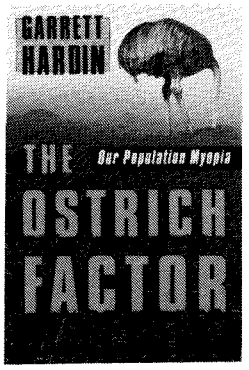
Here is a challenge to the recklessness and ecological ignorance of economists and others who champion the idea of unbounded growth.



Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Garrett Hardin "has once again turned his delightful brilliance loose on the purpose and effectiveness of government in a democracy. …No one feeds the intellectual fires of ecology's role in government better…" says George Woodall, director of the Woods Hole Research Center.

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PUBLISHER
John H. Tanton
Petoskey, Michigan

EDITOR
Wayne Lutton
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR
Robert Kyser
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR
Roy Beck
Arlington, Virginia

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR
James Robb
Arlington, Virginia

Washington Office
1601 N. Kent St., #1100
Arlington, VA 22209
phone 703-816-8820
fax 703-816-8824

International Correspondents
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Nürnberg, Germany

Denis McCormack
North Fitzroy, Victoria
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Louisville, Kentucky

Dan Stein
Washington, D.C

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A Note from the Publisher

Forty years ago this year, May 7, 1959, British scientist and writer C. P. Snow gave a justly famous lecture at Cambridge University entitled "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution." In it, he theorized that the scientific and literary endeavors were actually worlds apart, and that there was very little communication between them. The net result was an impasse that jeopardized the public interest since scientific findings were unable to affect citizen concern and the making of public policy.

After many years – even decades – in the immigration reform movement, I am convinced that there are roughly two camps fighting for a different immigration policy that reflects their different world views.

On the one side (the side I choose) are the hard scientists, the biologists, and the men and women who work with numbers — those who perhaps take a longer view and see a bigger picture. They are concerned about population growth, resources, waste, wilderness preservation, bio-diversity, and so on.

The other camp, as I envision it, comes more from the social sciences and is composed of descendants of the civil rights era. They focus on the individual immigrant, rather than on the society, and are more concerned about the here and now than the longer term. They are actually hidebound traditionalists who want to keep on doing things the same way we have always been doing them – even though they see themselves as liberals and free thinkers.

These two camps are roughly reflective of the divisions that C. P. Snow saw in academe forty years ago, and the chasm between them makes for a similar impediment to constructive change. We hope that our exploration of this issue will help shed light on that continuing divide, and on the way in which the immigration reform debate is being conducted.

JOHN TANTON, Publisher

In Memory of Janet Harte

All of us on *The Social Contract* staff will sorely miss the wit and wisdom of Janet Harte who died February 23rd at Corpus Christi, Texas. Janet was a consummate environmentalist and population activist, sparking programs in Texas such as Planned Parenthood of South Texas and the Corpus Christi Citizens' Recycling Committee. Her activism during the civil rights era led to her appointment to the Texas Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Janet and her husband, Edward H. Harte, former publisher of the Corpus Christi *Caller-Times,* have been very generous contributors to worthy causes in Texas and across the country.

Practicing what she preached about recycling, most of Janet's communications to this office were written on retrieved envelopes and bits of paper, and we were always careful to mail her things that were printed on the backsides of discarded missives. I met her in connection with the advisory board of FAIR (The Federation for American Immigration Reform) where her input was always cogent and good-humored. Because Janet was a tireless guardian of the English language we recruited her expertise in spelling, grammar and usage to proofread our journal. She could even catch misspellings in Spanish, French and German for us. The mistakes one might find in our issues were never her fault. She also had an editor's good sense of which author's output might pass the muster for inclusion. I know Bob Kyser always looked forward to the hour or so on the phone with her just ahead of each printing after she had read through the items and suggested changes. Much of that enjoyment was in Janet's marvelous sense of humor. She had an infectious giggle that hummed through closed lips and you could see the impish twinkle in her eyes, even over the phone wires.

Mrs. Tanton and I had several wonderful trips with the Hartes that fed into our mutual passion for the natural world as well as visits to their homes in Texas and Maine. At age 75 Janet was yet young by today's standards. We regret her passing very much, and we extend our prayers and good wishes to Ed and their children.

JOHN TANTON

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Letter to the Editor

EDITOR:

While I want to thank Professor Leon Bouvier most sincerely for his very generous review of my new book* (*The Social Contract*, vol.IX, no.2, Winter 1998-99) — together with *The Social Contract* for commissioning it — I believe that two points criticized by him need a little more elaboration. Leon takes me to task for noting, in passing, that the Roman Catholic rite of the Eucharist — said to function through the mechanism of transubstantiation — involves "symbolic cannibalism," and for advocating the population optimum concept as a "panacea."

As I understand it, cannibalism proper — fortunately a rather rare phenomenon in our species these days (many others still go in for it on a large scale, as we may have done in the distant past) — involves the actual consumption of human flesh or blood. Symbolic cannibalism, on the other hands, relates to the eating or drinking of substances — in this case bread and wine — which are *intended to represent*, i.e., symbolize, elements of a human body. These issues — admittedly not pleasant thoughts for any of us — appear to me to center on simple questions of fact and logic and there are respectable scholarly precedents for the usage adopted in my book. (See, for instance, Dart, 1959, pp.127-8, & Cipolla, 1962, pp.113-4).

While I had, and still have, not the least wish to offend the susceptibilities of believers, I do believe that scholarship implies a right to analyze and offer comparative comment on beliefs and practices in the religious sphere, as in all others. On the topic of the efficacy of miracles I respectfully decline to comment.

The second point concerns Leon's firm assertion that I am "convinced that the concept of 'optimum population' can save the day." This is very far from my belief. In writing this book I tried hard not to sit on the fence, not to clutch at facile optimism, not to slump into dysfunctional pessimism, but instead to stick resolutely to practical realism. It follows that panaceas — certainly including the concept of the optimum as a panacea — were rigorously eschewed.

The world is so complicated — countries vary so much in where they have come from, where they have got to, and where they want to go in the future — that no solution could possibly have more or less universal or permanent relevance. Certainly, all socioeconomic systems have to operate within ecological parameters — there is no doubt about that —but within these limits there is an infinite range of possibilities regarding cultural, political and economic arrangements.

The nearest I come to panaceas is to advocate: (1) much greater justice and equity for all disadvantaged individuals and groups to discourage them as far as possible from "breeding for victory" and other destructive behavior patterns; (2) far greater honesty in the academic, intellectual, political, and media worlds in facing, communicating, and discussing the facts of population, resources, and the quality of life, and; (3) much more democratic involvement in the exploration and resolution of these onerous problems.

Insofar as population policies are needed to keep numbers and resources in balance with each other at an acceptable quality of life, then the concept of the optimum population is a useful tool for focusing thought and action in practical and rewarding ways. Population and development policies need goals. What can these be but some approximation to what a particular society thinks (for the time being — things can always change in the future) is the right number of people in the right kind of economy and society?

The standard objections to the optimum concept I deal with at length, and roundly dismiss. These are that an optimum number can never be calculated with precision, and, even if it could, the situation would change and render it invalid. I point out — with concrete examples — that these alleged objections to the optimum population concept apply to all policies in all countries at all times so that it is an especially disreputable example of special pleading to apply it solely to the sphere of population control policy.

Thank you, Leon, for your overall commendation. I hope you can accept these amplifying notes.

JACK PARSONS
Treferig, Wales, UK

* *Human Population Competition: A Study of the Pursuit of Power Through Numbers* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press)

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Two Cultures and the British Education System

by Antony Flew

When, on its first publication in 1959, I first read Charles Snow's Rede Lecture I was head of the Department of Philosophy in the University College of North Staffordshire (UCNS).[1] This institution had been founded in 1950 both as a reaction against the narrow specialization of most existing courses in British universities and as an attempt to bridge the gulf between what Snow was later to distinguish as *The Two Cultures*. For at least the first two or three decades from its foundation UCNS was, therefore, more like such U.S. liberal arts colleges as Swarthmore and Oberlin than it was like anything in the UK.

Professor Flew indicates that his "...background was closest to that of Sir Charles Snow. On our afternoon walks my father used to point out to me the house in which [physicist] Lord Rutherford lived."

Like all my English colleagues on the faculty of what has since become the University of Keele, I had previously been educated at an English secondary school[2] in which there was a sharp separation between studies and students on the Classical or Arts "side" and those on the Modern or Science "side" — although some subjects such as Mathematics, French and History were, in fact, studied on both "sides." Normally at the age of sixteen all pupils in such schools took a School Certificate examination covering all the subjects previously taught them on their chosen "side."

After that they either left school or, if they were hoping to proceed to university, concentrated for the next two, or at most three, years on not more than three of the subjects which they had previously been studying on their "side." It was presumed they would further pursue one or two of these subjects at university. Anyone attending such a school who ever wanted to do any science had to start on the Modern or Science "side" at, typically the age of twelve; and no one who had been on one "side" at secondary school expected, if they went on to university, to be required to do any work on any subject peculiar to the other "side."

For Snow these were the English "educational and social idiosyncrasies" which led to a "slight exaggeration here"[3] of what he saw as the deep and wide gulf which is to be found everywhere between the two cultures. Thanks to my own earlier experience of that "intense specialization, like nothing else on earth"[4] and to my later involvement in an attempt to bridge it, I was strongly sympathetic with Snow's emphasis on the importance of this gulf. I was also in agreement with his diagnosis of "the three menaces" then facing humanity, "H-bomb war, over-population, the gap between rich and poor."[5] (My own concern, however, was, as it still is, not with *inequalities* between the tax-maintained worst-off and the very rich in the First World, but with Third World hardship, causing poverty.)

Snow went on to say that "Whatever else in the world we know survives to the year 2,000, that won't. Once the trick of getting rich is known, as it now is, the world can't survive half rich and half poor. It's just not on."[6] According to Snow, the trick was both to provide abundant capital to Third World countries in order to finance the establishment of industries and to lend them scientists and technologies to start things off. They would then pass their knowledge on so that Third World people would become able to run these industries themselves. Snow went on to say that the

Antony Flew *is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, Reading University, England. His most recent book is* Darwinian Evolution *published by Transaction.*

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amount of capital needed could only be provided by a combined operation of the governments of the USSR, the USA and the other Western industrial countries. For, as he significantly concluded, "Private industry, even the biggest private industry, can't touch it, and in no sense is it a fair business risk."[7]

Well, the year 2,000 is now nearly upon us and, whatever dispute there might be about the relative numbers of people enjoying comparative riches in the First World and those in the Third World (and now in the former USSR) suffering hardship — causing poverty — there can be no doubt that the numbers of such desperately poor people are absolutely enormous, and hence Snow's optimistic prediction has been decisively falsified. Indeed, thanks to the persistent failure to check or even attempt to check population increases, populations in many Third World countries are still growing at rates faster than their rates of economic growth, if any. And this failure has at least in some part to be attributed to a refusal to accept the behavioral costs of employing available technology.

What Snow in 1959 believed to be the sovereign remedy for Third World poverty has in fact been extensively applied in the years between, even if not so extensively as he himself suggested would be necessary. But although this compulsory generosity of First World taxpayers has made several Third World dictators very rich indeed, enabling them to stash away billions in their numbered Swiss bank accounts, it has done little if anything to relieve the poverty of their peoples. On the other hand, when multinational corporations — to the fury of all properly left-thinking people — have been allowed to make profits out of investments in the Third World, the operations of these corporations have, however unintentionally, and always providing that the benefits were not monopolized by "kelptocratic" Third World politicians, actually benefitted Third World peoples.[8]

But, though Snow was mistaken in thinking that he knew what the sovereign remedy for Third World poverty was, he was not mistaken in his beliefs both that there is such a remedy and that it cannot take effect unless the growth of population is drastically limited. The discovery of this remedy was made and published over two centuries ago. It was made by a worker not in the natural but in the social, or as he would have said, the moral sciences. His name was Adam Smith, and the work in which he published his finding was entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of Wealth of Nations* (1776). That finding was that the one essential was efficient but very strictly limited and therefore inexpensive government. As he himself expressed it, in the proverbial nutshell: "Little else is requisite to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism, but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice; all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things."[9]

"...this compulsory generosity of First World taxpayers has made several Third World dictators very rich indeed..."

At one point Snow writes, "If the scientists have the future in their bones, then the traditional culture responds by wishing the future did not exist."[10] He adds to this statement an illustrative footnote: "Compare George Orwell's *1984*, which is the strongest possible wish that the future should not exist, with J.D. Bernal's *World Without War*."[11] Need one say more about this unfortunate but surely significant illustration than that Snow certainly knew that Bernal had throughout his adult life been a member of the Communist Party, and remained unreconstructed until his death. If only all members of the literary culture had shared Orwell's realistic appreciation for the nature of Soviet socialist reality, then the Cold War might have been won much more easily and perhaps more quickly than it was.

In his Introduction [to *The Two Cultures*] Stefan Collini says that "Physics had long been seen, as it effectively was by Snow, as the hardest of the 'hard sciences', a kind of gold standard against which weaker or debased forms of science could be measured..."[12] This was certainly Rutherford's opinion. For it was he who famously said: "In science there is only physics — and stamp collecting." I cannot testify that I myself ever heard him say this.

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But in the Cambridge of my boyhood I certainly heard this saying attributed to him by people who were very familiar with his opinions. TSC

NOTES

[1] The University College was later transformed into what it is now, the University of Keele.

[2] Approximately equivalent to high school in the U.S.

[3] Charles Snow. *The Two Cultures*, with an Introduction by Stefan Collini. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p.19.

[5] *Ibid.*, p.46.

[6] *Ibid.*, p.42. This allegedly known "trick of getting rich" is, of course, a matter of policy for countries rather than for individuals.

[7] *Ibid.*, p.47.

[8] For an abundance of evidence on these matters see such works of P. T. Bauer as: *Dissent on Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); *Equality, the Third World and Economic Delusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981); *Reality and Rhetoric: Studies in Economic Development* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984); and *The Development Frontier* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[9] For essays on the disasters produced in the second half of the present century as a result of accepting the advise of professing development economists who did not recognize and follow Smith as the founder of that discipline, see, for example, Peter J. Boettke (ed.) *The Collapse of Development Planning* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1994). It is perhaps worth remarking, if only in a footnote, that Snow himself, as a Junior Minister in an (Old) Labour Administration, as well as three of the distinguished natural scientists whom he mentions, namely J. D. Bernal, J. B. S. Haldane and P. M. S. Blackett (who were card-carrying members or constant fellow travelers of the UK Communist Party) were at one in their enthusiastic commitment to the supposed virtues of central economic planning. None of them had ever recognized the genius of Ludwig von Mises, or in all probability ever heard of him.

[10] *The Two Cultures*, p.11.

[11] *Ibid.*, p.101.

[12] *Ibid.*, p.xlvii.

Two Cultures — Or Three Filters?

On being ecolate as well as literate and numerate

by Garrett Hardin

In 1959 C. P. Snow (1905-1980), novelist and scientist, in his famous lecture *The Two Cultures*[1], sought to persuade contemplative people to reexamine the abstraction called "the intellectual." As one who had worked with both words and scientific apparatus Snow questioned whether competence with only the first of these tools was enough to justify the honorific title.

Snow's forceful attack evoked a counter attack. The well established literary critic F.R. Leavis fiercely defended the established view of intellectuality. Contemptuous of Snow's ability as a novelist, Leavis was unwilling to admit that the physical scientist was a true intellectual.

We now realize that Snow was examining the world as an anthropologist or a historian might, seeking to distinguish the principal varieties of actors in the human drama. Every animal faces a world that is rich in diversity; its survival depends on quickly distinguishing friends and foes. Discrimination must be made where there is never total certainty. In the

Garrett Hardin *is professor emeritus of human ecology in the department of biological sciences at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His newest book is* The Ostrich Factor: Our Population Myopia *published by Oxford University Press.*

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deepest sense, speedy discrimination is an economic, sometimes even a vital, necessity. Among all active animals categorizing is the order of the day. Man is an animal.

But man is, as Aristotle said, a thinking animal. In recent times he has come to distrust his categorizations. All too frequently the motives of the categorizers are perceived to be contaminated by prejudice, bias or bigotry. An external observer — the hypothetical Man from Mars, say — might be thoroughly objective; but where is the Man from Mars?

Like most people trained in the sciences I am uneasy about what I see as the excessive weight given to words by Leavis and his like. This emphasis has of course ancient roots. I can best state my position by repeating a passage I presented to a symposium of religionists several years ago:

> *A scientist cannot accept the orientation of the first sentence of the book of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." No doubt this statement can be interpreted in terms of symbols, parables or myths, but all such substitutes for real propositions are ambiguous. Scientists are more attracted to the motto of the Royal Society of London: Nullius in verba. If I were charged with altering Scripture to conform with science I would say: "In the beginning was the World, which everywhere and forever envelops us; against this external reality all human words must be measured.*[2]

Adopting the Biblical position automatically generates a dispute with the Leavises of this world. The unreliability of words is well illustrated by a story from the life of Arthur O. Lovejoy, the great 20th century historian of ideas. Appearing as an expert witness in a court case he was asked to take the routine oath, "Do you. . . so help you God?" Lovejoy politely pointed out that before he could respond to the question he would have to know what kind of a God the questioner had in mind? Opposing counsel casually asked what kind of God he thought was possible. Lovejoy said he was so glad he had been asked, because this was a subject to which he had given considerable attention. There are many kinds of Gods, he said, even within the Christian religion. There is God the First Cause, God the Prime Mover, the God Who Answers Prayers, the God who ... and so on.

Legal tradition dictates that an attorney, having raised a particular point, cannot keep the witness from flooding the record with his reply. Lovejoy went on until he had made (as I recall) 37 distinctions and then sweetly asked: "Which one of these Gods does the court have in mind?" The attorney threw up his hands in despair and urged that the trial move on to substantive issues.

"The thrust of Snow's analysis makes us question the legitimacy of an important human activity: categorizing people into cultural groups."

The moral should be clear: there is no unambiguous relation of words to reality. Conventions rule; and we cannot expect that working with words-only will answer our questions about the world outside the words. Often non-verbal language is more intelligible than words. In a popular lecture given in 1883, the English physicist Lord Kelvin (1824-1907), discoursed on a language much used by scientists, namely the language of mathematics:

> *I often say that when you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers you know something about it; but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind: it may be the beginning of knowledge, but you have scarcely, in your thoughts, advanced to the stage of science...*[3]

At this point we pause to name the intellectual stages discussed so far. The first stage, as illustrated in the quotation from the Bible, can be called the literate stage, using the word *literacy* and its derivatives to cover words transmitted by whatever medium (not just inked letters on paper). An intellectual of the Leavis

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stripe is said to be literate. The intellectuality of Kelvin (and other scientists) is now referred to under the rubric of *numeracy*, the ability to think and communicate with numbers. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the second word was coined by a royal commission in the very year of Snow's lecture. After 1959 the words numerate and numeracy appeared with ever greater frequency in general discussions.

"It is clear that economists assume that unlimited growth is normal and does not call for evidence."

The thrust of Snow's analysis makes us question the legitimacy of an important human activity: categorizing people into cultural groups. Doing so invites dissent because categories are only statistically valid. Moreover, the name of almost any category carries an emotional baggage: think of the uproar created by the chameleonlike terms "liberal" and "conservative." Being pigeonholed is usually resented by the subject; but the passion for pigeonholing *other* people is a human failing. (Think of the joys of hurling at one's opponents the epithets *Bigot! Xenophobe! Racist!* and *Nativist!*)

Quite an amusing brouhaha resulted from the Snow-Leavis controversy; we can now see that the differences uncovered had more important functions than that of name-calling. But before going further we need to introduce one more thread into the argument.

In the last half of the 19th century the science of ecology was christened. Its definition was initially confined to the biological sciences; about a century later people interested in characteristically human problems broadened its meaning. The names "economics" and "ecology" are both derived from the Greek root *eco-*, meaning home, house, household. Despite the widespread prestige of economics, 20th century ecologists ultimately asserted that their specialty had a license to deal with all household problems of the human species, including both economic and environmental ones. That position made academic economics no more than a specialized corner of ecology. Needless to say, card-bearing economists did not agree.

That something was missing from official economics had been noticed at least as far back as *Gulliver's Travels*. In the fantasy land of Laputa, Jonathan Swift told how mathematical analyses produced ill-fitting clothes for the Laputans, while "their houses were very ill built ... without one right angle in any apartment. ...I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward and unhandy people...."[4] Thus did Swift ridicule scholars who thought that purely numerical analyses could solve all human problems. That was in 1726.

Then in 1962 a biologist employed by the American government, Rachel Carson, gave an elegant presentation of human ecology in her book *Silent Spring*, which was both highly praised and passionately damned. In the generation that followed, well-established economists mounted one defense after another, the contents of which suggested that the thrust of Swift's satire was not mere fiction. A bouquet of their astonishing statements follows. (Unless otherwise noted, each quotation is by an established economist or a recognized spokesman for the group.)

The world can, in effect, get along without natural resources. —Robert Solow[5]

There is no danger from the exhaustion of physical resources. —Peter T. Bauer[6]

In the received paradigm, economic growth can, in principle, continue indefinitely without resource constraints. —Allen V. Kneese[7]

The so-called Law of Diminishing Returns only operates in the absence, on the one hand, of significant technological changes, and on the other of significant social changes. — Colin Clark[8]

On average, human beings create more than they use in their lifetimes. It has to be so or we would be an extinct species. This process is, as the physicists say, an invariancy. It applies to all metals, all fuels, all food, all measures of human welfare. It applies in all countries. It applies in all times. — Julian Simon, a merchandising and sales specialist[9]

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> *The United States must overcome the materialistic fallacy: the illusion that resources and capital are essentially things which can run out, rather than products of the human will and imagination which in freedom are inexhaustible.* — George Gilder, popularizer of economics[10]

To these individual confessions should be added the testimony of Constance Holden, for many years a trusted reporter of the weekly *Science* magazine. In a planned encounter of economists and environmentalists at the World Bank, "...the economists at the meeting rejected the idea that resources could be finite. Said one: 'The notion that there are limits that can't be taken care of by capital has to be rejected.' Said another: 'I think the burden of proof is on your side to show that there are limits and where the limits are.' They were suspicious of well-worn ecological terms such as `carrying capacity' and `sustainability.' Said one: 'We need definitions in economic, not biological terms.'"

"The standard conclusion of traditional economists pleases John Q. Citizen. Default positions, which tell us there are limits to what we can do are seldom welcomed."

These objections by the economists take us to the heart of the economics/ecology controversy, the "burden of proof" issue. It is clear that economists assume that unlimited growth is normal and does not call for evidence. For an applied science that claims to be erected on a mathematical framework, it is astonishing to think that, since Adam Smith (1776), the evolution of this applied science has brought it into a domain where infinity is a legitimate operator in its equations. Early on, professional mathematicians forbad dividing by zero because it produces "infinity," the operational meaning of which has long been regarded as illegitimate. But not, apparently in economics.

The frequent assertions of the economists quoted above cannot be reconciled with the traditions of the natural sciences. If Newton had denied the constancy of gravity he could never have successfully described our world. (The slight modification later called for by Einstein created a new constant entity with the dimensions of both mass and energy.) In biology, the variability of living things derives from a sort of constancy of hereditary elements.

When they wrestle with fundamentals scientists have to stop at some point, and say: "Thus far and no farther with our doubting." It is quite true that we have made mistakes in the past when we settled for "self-evident truths," "common sense," and the like, but unlimited doubt creates an infinite regress that leaves no firm foundation for further advances. Einstein expressed what may be the best way to terminate an infinite regress. His biographer wrote of him: "When judging a scientific theory, his own or another's, he asked himself whether he would have made the universe in that way had he been God."[11]

A modern term is needed for whatever mental entity we use to limit an infinite regress. Semantic coloring should not invest the chosen name with too much power. Of the suggestions made to date I like best the term, *the default position.*[12] This term implicitly lays the burden of proof on any contradictory position. Constancy (with no creation and no destruction) is generally taken as a default position in the sciences. The laws of thermodynamics are default positions. (Ecological applications of this new term are discussed at length in *The Ostrich Factor.*[13])

Conflicts between economists and ecologists could have been aborted forty years before *Silent Spring* had the economists paid attention to the criticisms of Frederick Soddy.[14] The English chemist pointed out that the theory embedded in neoclassical economics in effect presupposes a perpetual-motion machine, a material form of infinity forbidden to science. Yet when, half a century after Soddy's critique, the multiply-authored work, *The Limits to Growth*, came out, Wilfred Beckerman expressed the opinion of his comrades in economics by calling it an "impudent piece of nonsense."[15] Why "impudent"? Because it refused to make the economically

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fashionable assumptions of worldly infinities.

The standard conclusion of traditional economists pleases John Q. Citizen. Default positions, which tell us there are limits to what we can do are seldom welcomed. ("How pessimistic!" says JQC.) After some ten thousand years of civilization, magic is still welcomed into millions of minds. Most daily newspapers in the United States still carry a regular column of astrological counsel; the flavor of the advice is certainly optimistic. So also are most of the orations given on ceremonial occasions: the speakers accept without question perpetual-motion machines proposed by the neoclassical economists. As evidence, consider a commencement address given by a philosopher at St. John's College:

> *It is now common knowledge in the farthest corners of the world that hunger, sickness, nakedness, and homelessness — all those symptoms of the economy of scarcity under which we have all lived — can by the proper multiplication and distribution of science and technology be abolished from the earth.*— Scott Buchanan.[16]

I have augmented C. P. Snow's two paths to a culture (the literate path and the numerate path) with a third one, the *ecolate* path. Should someone write a new essay entitled "The Three Cultures"? I think this would be counterproductive: we already have enough stereotypes to keep our repulsive passions well supplied. Our greater need is to become more aware of the different languages we use in our attempt to surround and express the truth. It is now clear that as the human mind processes the inputs from experience it uses three different filters, each connected with its characteristic question.[17]

Literacy: What are the appropriate words?

Numeracy: What are the operational numbers?

Ecolacy: And then what?

More consistently than the first two filters, the ecolate filter is focused on time and the probable consequences of a proposed action. Ecolacy presumes a consequentialist ethics (which is often at odds with the motivational ethics produced by earlier, and predominantly literate, intellectuals).[18] As human beings become ever more crowded together the need for a mastery of these three "languages" grows. Can we bring this about?

As one who was heavily involved in undergraduate education for more than three decades I have some suggestions to make. In the struggle to preserve the best of our civilization we have to take as our target those citizens who are most in need of a "general" education, namely the future teachers in primary and secondary schools, and the future journalists who will fashion the news reported in the press and in the electronic media. The informal fraction of the education of these two groups takes place outside the university and college curricula. Only the formal part is subject to academic influences. The principal emphasis of "general" courses should be on the needs of future citizens rather than those of students headed for academic specialties. In the past, successes in this area have been rather disappointing. Why? For the answer we need to plunge deeply into human behavior.

Reward determines behavior. In a world of living elements this is a universal default position. In any particular class of interactions, the determination need not be 100 percent effective: anything over 50 percent will make it determinative of the results. In the field of biology, natural selection is the overwhelming example of the operation of this default mode. Among domesticated animals and plants, rewards set up by animal and plant breeders determine what a strain will be like. In the economist's world of the free market, consumer preference determines the prosperity of human "producers."

What about the academic world? Many taxpayers are under the impression that teaching performance is the primary behavior that is rewarded in universities. Those who are close to the academic world know that this is not so — particularly not so in universities, which set the style more than do colleges. As far as abilities are concerned it is fortunate that great teaching ability and great research ability are not mutually exclusive. (This is shown by the numerous individuals who are very good at both.) But in universities generally, the criteria for filling academic slots, result in research ability being rewarded more generously than teaching ability.

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An academician's chance of advancement is largely determined by how his research accomplishment is perceived at other institutions. (Teaching reputations are less well known at a distance.) Since there are only 24 hours in the day, the perceptive and ambitious academician gives research more attention than teaching. *Rewards determine behavior* — Q. E. D.

Actually, rewards in academia are a mixed bag, and many professors exert themselves mightily in educating the next generation. "General" courses are devised to tell all the non-X students what they need to know about X, if they are going to be well balanced citizens later. But it is easier for a teacher to speak one language rather than several, and so the professor's specialty is apt to play the pirate in a course dedicated to more extensive goals.

The results of this unplanned selectivity is tragic: the neglect of the needs of the vast majority of students who stand most in need of a general education. This group includes those students who will one day be most responsible for training yet another generation of citizens. Tragedy compounded!

The two most important sub-groups are the primary and secondary teachers, and the journalists. The life stories of the two professions differ. For a long time teaching (in our part of the world) has been professionalized and esoteric. Administrators in the schools of education have a dictatorial clamp on the criteria for certification procedures. At a lower level the everyday workers, joined into teachers' unions, furnish the political power that keeps uncertified teachers out of the classroom.

University faculty who may take their advising duties seriously soon learn a sad fact: the education department or school at most universities has a reputation for general incompetence. Time after time, faculty advisors observe that the student who is no more than marginally competent at intellectual tasks ends up by becoming an "ed major." (Student scuttlebutt tells him that he will have an easy job there.) The final result was cruelly satirized by George Bernard Shaw almost a century ago: "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches."[19] Of course, this is only a statistical truth: a few schools of education give a quality education, but the profession suffers from the majority. Extensive reform would be frighteningly difficult, but the welfare of future generations is at stake.

The other sub-group, with perhaps even more influence on the future, is the fraternity of journalists. Our schools of journalism may be as bad as education departments, but journalists have not succeeded in producing a closed shop. Most practicing journalists did not come out of journalism schools, they just wandered into the occupation. Some are self-educated to a high level. But numeracy is still often mocked by the highly literate; the results show in the press.

As for ecolacy, this modern development is seen as threatening to many of the vested interests of society; and these, through the power of advertizing budgets, exert a powerful suppressive effect on ecolate analysis. The end result is that our civilization seems determined to get along with a single language, literacy — with numeracy and ecolacy being marginalized.

Can we survive? Well, who is we? If that great romantic dream of One World becomes — temporarily — a reality, the inevitable dysfunctions of scale probably preclude the possibility of universal reform. If, on the other hand, our world continues to be subdivided into many separate sovereignties (as it is now), there is at least a possibility that one or another of the semi-independent units may some day become truly tripartite in both thinking and communication. One such local success might then inspire others to follow the example. TSC

NOTES

[1] C. P. Snow. *The Two Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993. pp. 1-51

[2] Garrett Hardin. "An ecological view of ethics," in James B. Miller and Kenneth E. McCall, eds. *The Church and Contemporary Cosmology*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University Press. 1990. p. 345

[3] Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin). *Popular Lectures and Addresses*. London: Macmillan. 1891. v. 1, p. 80

[4] Jonathan Swift. *Gulliver's Travels*. 1726. Travel III, Chap. II

[5] Robert Solow. "The economics of resources or the resources of economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 6:11. 1974

[6] Peter T. Bauer. *Equality and the Third World and Economic Delusion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1981. p. 206

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[7] Allen V. Kneese. "The economics of natural resources." *Population and Development Review*, 14(suppl.):289. 1988.

[8] Colin Clark. [Book review] *Population and Development Review*, 11:120. 1985.

[9] Norman Myers and Julian L. Simon. *Scarcity or Abundance?* New York: Norton. 1994. pp. 133-134

[10] Quoted by Herman E. Daly and John Cobb in, *For the Common Good*. Boston: Beacon. 1989. p. 109

[11] Banesh Hoffman. *Albert Einstein, Creator and Rebel*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972. p. 12

[12] Garrett Hardin. "Paramount positions in ecological economics," in Robert Costanza, ed. *Ecological Economics*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 47-57. (After introducing "default" in the Abstract I then — unwisely, as I now think — used a different term in the body of the text.)

[13] Garrett Hardin. *The Ostrich Factor: Our Population Myopia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999 (in press). Chap. 4

[14] Allen V. Kneese. "The economics of natural resources." *Population and Development Review*, 14(suppl.):302. 1988.

[15] Charles Perrings. *Economy and Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987. p. 48

[16] Reported later in Scott Buchanan. *So Reason Can Rule*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux. 1982. p. 12

[17] Garrett Hardin. *Filters Against Folly*. New York: Viking Press. 1985. Chap. 3

[18] For views of consequential ethics in the pre-ecolate stage see Samuel Scheffler, ed.: *Consequentialism and Its Critics*. 1988. New York: Oxford University Press.

[19] George Bernard Shaw. *Man and Superman*. 1903. Act IV

The Diminished Charge on the Intellectual Electric Fence

by John Cairns, Jr.

Abstract

The divide between the two cultures (scientific and inductive/literary and deductive) identified by C. P. Snow has diminished appreciably in the last 40 years. Cultural exchanges may not be as effortless as they were in much earlier periods, but they have improved and are still improving. At its worst, the separation of the two cultures was unfortunate, but not a threat to the survival of human society. Toward the end of this century, two new cultures have emerged with dramatically different views of the relationship that *Homo sapiens* has with natural systems. The "environmentalists believe that humans are a part of natural systems and depend upon them to keep the planet habitable. The "exemptionalists" believe that intelligence, creativity, and technology can free human society from the biophysical laws of nature that restrict other species. Economic and political forces tend to keep these two new cultures farther apart than the cultures described by Snow. A position of compromise seems very unlikely. The general public and political leaders seem mostly unaware of these two cultures, but global practices are dominated by the economic growth exemptionalist model. At the very least, literacy on these issues should be raised to the degree essential for an informed choice.

This time, like all times, is a very good one,
if we but know what to do with it.

— Ralph Waldo Emerson

Introduction

For over half a century, I have been a cautious traveler through the zealously defended specialized tribal units of academe. This exciting, but often stressful, journey was not initially of my own choice. I began by majoring in a conventional tribal unit (biology) with a minor in two reasonably friendly

John Cairns, Jr. *is University Distinguished Professor of Environmental Biology Emeritus in the Department of Biology at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061.*

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tribes (chemistry and physics). In graduate school, I enrolled in a major subtribe (zoology). At the end of my first year of graduate school, Ruth Patrick offered me a position as a protozoologist on one of her two river survey teams at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The study covered the effects of pollution upon an entire river system rather than just a particular species, genus, or family of organisms. The team interacted with engineers, chemists, and regional planners, as well as industrial personnel, elected officials, regulatory officials and even the news media. Reducing environmental pollution was socially valuable and scientifically challenging! In an era where graduate assistantships were almost unheard of, I was even paid. What more could one want? As a bonus, my efforts were considered quite satisfactory for an MS thesis. C. P. Snow's seminal volume on the two cultures had not yet appeared, so it was a great shock to find that many of my peers did not congratulate me on my good fortune. I was shocked further when I encountered the view that research was either "pure" or "applied."

Cross Culturalists

Moving from one culture to another (scientific to literary/inductive to deductive) is easier than one might think. However, one must project the new tribal role convincingly. The Society of Friends (Quakers) distinguishes between birthright members and convinced members, which is an appropriate but not prejudicial view of a cultural change. Unlike the Quakers, those who have changed academic disciplines are often more aggressive champions of disciplinary purity than those who remain in their original disciplines. I know and respect individuals who have switched from economics to urban and regional planning, law to economics, etc. but who are quite tolerant, even supportive, of those exploring the interfaces between and among disciplines; however, these individuals seem to be the exception rather than the rule. Many people who have switched disciplines are stalwart defenders of disciplinary purity (in the new discipline) despite the illogic of this position.

Pseudo-Cross Culturalists

The increased flow of extramural funding into interdisciplinary programs, particularly those related to the environment, has resulted in a number of classical disciplines hiding behind an interdisciplinary facade in order to acquire grants. One of the classic forms of this deception has been to add a descriptor to the original designation — Department of X and Environmental Sciences. To distinguish between facade and an enlarged scope, one must examine each faculty member's publications and professional memberships to determine how many are in a specialized discipline and how many are in professional journals that are predominantly environmental. In some cases, there is substance behind the name change, but the device of adding to an existing name is generally easier than launching a new department in an era of decreased educational funding. Regrettably, this maneuver is often a panic response to declining enrollment and it is often temporarily successful because prospective students and their parents do not investigate the department and the facade serves its purpose.

"An aggregation of individuals with strong disciplinary bias does not an inter-disciplinary center make!"

Another variation in an era of austere funding is to collect a group of small disciplinary entities under an umbrella of "interdisciplinary studies." Again, prudence requires a check of each faculty member's publications, professional memberships, and the like to determine the percentage of participants who are truly interdisciplinary. An aggregation of individuals with strong disciplinary bias does not an inter-disciplinary center make! On the other hand, most such entities must start small and develop gradually. They deserve encouragement and support, and those designed as graveyards for out-of-favor disciplines will soon fade away.

A third ploy for appearing interdisciplinary is to establish an applied journal with a title that does not sound too applied. This rather transparent maneuver benefits both cultures. The applied authors who publish in the journal acquire more status and

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theoreticians do not lose face. I regard this as a sound move to make the transition to consilience less traumatic.

Closet Multiculturalists

At a national and international level, it is amazingly easy to avoid cultural conflicts. For my entire career, I have been fascinated by protozoan community structure and function. Publications in this field are read by those with similar interests but usually by few others. I recently received a letter from a colleague at another institution commenting how one's interests change with retirement. He had just encountered a publication of mine in toxicology — a field in which I have been publishing since the early 1950s. Even when this cultural anomaly is discovered, the discoverer finds a charitable explanation — in this case that "my interests have changed after retirement." But in order to be accepted in a specialized journal, one must usually maintain the focus of that publication. In short, one must invest time in acquiring the tribal language and rituals of each culture. Some months ago, I was invited to submit a manuscript for a major anniversary of a particular interest journal. It seemed appropriate to show the consilience of this field with a number of issues of importance to human society. One reviewer thought the manuscript satisfactory and recommended publication. The second strongly opposed publication and remarked that the paper appeared to be an address (possibly at a banquet) to a learned society. I regarded this as a compliment, but it was clearly not so intended. The second reviewer concluded that, if published, the article might do no harm. Clearly, the second reviewer felt the article had some merit — it was viewed as an address to a learned society. But it was clearly outside of that journal's culture — at least in the second reviewer's opinion. The editor chose to publish the article. But such an article is definitely not appropriate for someone wishing to remain a closet academic multiculturalist. It is possible to appear to have a specialized approach, while promotion and/or tenure are a problem, and still function in an interdisciplinary mode if one is careful.

"This need for interdisciplinary thinking is particularly true of the quest for sustainable use of the planet..."

Consilience and Sustainable Use of the Planet

As Collini (1993) notes, the topics raised by Snow are not the exclusive property of any one discipline. Arguably, the most effective solution for most of the world's major problems precludes confining any one of them to academic pigeonholes. This need for interdisciplinary thinking is particularly true of the quest for sustainable use of the planet, which reached public consciousness with the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). But predictably, special interests have dominated the field as evidenced by the reports on sustainable agriculture, transportation, energy, cities, fisheries, water supply, and the like. An uncharitable person might assume that the primary purpose was to ensure the perpetuation of the special interests rather than leaving a habitable planet for future generations. Some books on subsidies (e.g., Myers and Kent, 1998), which document the large amounts of money involved, provide persuasive economic evidence to support this view. Perhaps in such cases, the financial motivation is more important than cultural differences.

Proliferation of the Cultures

Collini (1993) remarks that, in place of the old apparently confident empires depicted by Snow, the map shows many smaller states with networks of alliance and communication between them that crisscross in complex and sometimes surprising ways. I agree with this statement entirely, hence the title of this paper. These are largely self-contained "tribal" units; each has its own language, rites of passage, journals, annual meetings, and geographic territory on an academic campus that preclude cultural exchanges. The tribal identities are both acknowledged and preserved by the use of the terms *multidisciplinary* and *interdisciplinary* rather than *transdisciplinary*. One

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hope is that students would rebel against the resultant compartmentalization, but colleagues in many institutions tell me that students focus on the courses they perceive will result in a professional position and tend to ignore the other courses. Of course, some exceptional students have broad interests, but these are hampered in large introductory courses by diminished civility toward both fellow students and faculty as evidenced by talking in class, late arrivals, early departures, and other distracting behaviors. The biggest threat to cultural barriers is an awareness of and respect for the attributes of other cultures. An uncivil environment does not facilitate development of such awareness and respect.

For faculty, other difficulties also exist. Effective communication with those in other disciplines is hard, time-consuming work. More emphasis on increased teaching does not encourage learning about other disciplines. Of course, some faculty would not bother with other academic cultures, however much time was available. But others would. Academic institutions must find some way to permit communication among disciplines for those who wish to do so without penalizing those who do not. Perhaps this would be an effective use of the traditional sabbatical, which is increasingly threatened in a variety of institutions.

Time management problems are not new despite efforts of many professionals to act as if they have just appeared. As Wilson (1998) remarks, an academic career requires 40 hours each week for teaching, advising, committee service, and the like. An additional 20 hours are needed to conduct respectable research, and another 20 hours will result in really important research. Merely putting in the time does not ensure success. Creativity requires focus, even addiction, in order to make an important discovery. Time management is difficult enough, even within a subdiscipline, and requires massive effort to achieve desired results even in a modest multidisciplinary outlook, which is why Wilson's observation on time is so important. What might inspire individuals to aspire to an operational level of competence in more than one academic culture?

As Collini (1993, p. iv) observes, outsiders tend to see uniformity in other groups and find distinctions within their own. Legislators and the general public often view faculty of institutions of higher learning in this way (e.g., high pay, little work). Wilson (1998), viewing the system from the inside, characterizes it as a series of petty fiefdoms. Both views have merit. Even religious organizations espousing racial, economic, and other forms of diversity end up being predominantly all white or all black and of a relatively modest economic range. It is simply too much work to convert "creed' to "deed." Even when a predominantly black and a predominantly white congregation agree to a "sister congregation" relationship, the outcome is usually unsatisfactory. Achieving desired results is simply too much of an effort on a continuing basis for most people. This statement is not intended to denigrate such efforts, but rather to recognize that individuals feel most comfortable with others of their own "culture," whatever that might be, because they can relax most completely with those sharing a common experience base. This division is why most academics cannot communicate well with the general public. Those who can, such as Carl Sagan, are often accused of shallow scholarship by their colleagues (e.g., Diamond, 1997a).

Given these obstacles, why are there so many examples of consilience (e.g., Wilson, 1998)? The most important reason is almost certainly simple curiosity — the creative mind is usually not confined by tribal boundaries. Second, the rewards are always greater, per unit of time spent, in relatively unexplored territory. However, publishing a discovery made in the comparatively unexplored area between disciplines is another matter entirely, as I found when working with an optical physicist, Silvero P. Almeida, on the use of laser holography to identify diatoms (e.g., Almeida et al., 1978, Cairns et al., 1982). Journals in each field thought there was too much "extraneous" material from the other field. Once the basics were published, it was easier for future publications to cater to specialized interests. A third reason for transdisciplinary work is funding. It is generally easier to get funding to solve problems of interest to a wealthy someone else than to solve problems primarily of interest to the researcher only. A high percentage of such problems transcend disciplinary boundaries. Most research requires extramural

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funding. When asked to define academic freedom, Isaac Asimov is reported to have replied "extramural funding." Outside funding protects one, to a degree, from local tribal politics and, if it does not, it at least enhances mobility. Funding definitely enables a researcher to attract the cream of the graduate student crop, who can always find someone to pay for their thesis or dissertation research. All other aspects being equal, graduate students are more likely to pick a major professor who can also pay for page charges, reprints, trips to professional meetings, and other means to make potential employers and the larger academic community aware of their research. This attraction is enlightened self-interest and increases the probability that the graduate student will be a credit to the major professor. In my opinion, funding can also dramatically speed up the development of a collegial relationship between graduate student and major professor, since both have a high stake in the outcome of the funded research. It is worth noting that much funding that once went to interdisciplinary teams is now going to multidimensional professionals who are capable of the interfaces between disciplines.

A significant portion of my research (and, of course, student research under my direction) for half a century was funded by people who had problems they wanted solved. The ones I agreed to tackle were fascinating ones that would otherwise not have occurred to me. For example, would fish avoid heated wastewater discharges from a steam-electric power plant (late 1940s and 1950s)? Or decades later, how does one keep an exotic species (the Asian clam) from fouling a power plant cooling system? Both involved various kinds of engineers, attorneys, regulating personnel, chemists, corporate executives, fishermen, toxicologists, fisheries and wildlife professionals, journalists, and local citizens. Cultural and disciplinary differences were not obstacles to gathering evidence on a problem of interest to all. Of considerable importance to me was the written assurance that the results could be submitted to a peer-reviewed professional journal *whatever the outcome.*

"Human society has essentially turned to the economic growth model to solve all problems related to the human condition..."

This assurance required a considerable amount of mutual trust, which developed gradually over years of working together. The main point here is that only a few such relationships are possible at any one point in time. Furthermore, the trust was personal, not institutional, and had to be developed accordingly when new people appeared. New movements in biotechnology, where patents etc. are involved, are rapidly reducing these agreements. This scenario, regrettably, is true of other areas as well.

Convergence

As Eisenstadt and Schluchter (1998, p.2) note, theories of modernization and of modernity, as formulated in the 1950s and 1960s, were based on the assumption of convergence. It was believed that modernization would wipe out cultural, institutional, structural, and mental differences and, if unimpeded, would lead to a uniform modern world. As human society nears the end of this century, there is much to diminish the confidence in the principle of convergence. Worse yet, there is a dangerous paradigm in its place.

The Economic Growth Paradigm

Human society has essentially turned to the economic growth model to solve all problems related to the human condition such as poverty, malnutrition, overpopulation (higher income families have fewer children), housing, cultural differences, education, and the like. Absent military conquest, economic growth is perceived as the only viable means for a country to sustain increases in national wealth and living standards. Some developing countries feel that a 7 percent annual economic growth rate, for the next decade at least, is the minimum necessary to provide enough jobs and improve the human condition. This growth rate means doubling the economic level in 10 years in countries where environmental damage is already severe. Nevertheless, people in developing countries aspire to the level of affluence in developed countries, most notably the United States. However, the ecological footprint (i.e., the productive land

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needed to support each individual with existing technology) is 5 hectares (1 hectare is 2.5 acres) in the United States and 3.5 hectares in Europe. In many developing countries, the figure is less than 0.5 hectare per individual. Raising the entire world to levels of affluence in the United States would require three planet Earths. But, optimistic economists state that human ingenuity and technology make resource limitations obsolete (e.g., Myers and Simon, 1994). According to them, carrying capacity applies to other species, not humans. Those espousing infinite growth on a finite planet have ignored a very important component of risk analysis. The precautionary action principle espouses precautionary action even in the face of high uncertainty if the consequences are likely to be unacceptable or severe.

The Precautionary Principle

Over the last decade, the principle of precautionary action has been emerging. On January 23-25, 1998, an international group met at Wingspread in Racine, Wisconsin, and formulated four parts to the principle of precautionary action.

1. People have a duty to take anticipatory action to prevent harm.
2. The burden of proof of the harmlessness of a new technology, process, activity, or chemical lie with the proponents, not with the general public.
3. Before using a new technology, process, chemical, or starting a new activity, people have an obligation to examine "a full range of alternatives," including the alternative of doing nothing.
4. Decisions applying the precautionary principle must be "open, informed and democratic" and "must include affected parties."

These parts can be less elegantly stated as "Better safe than sorry," "Look before you leap," and "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." The compartmentalization of "the two cultures" identified by Snow or Wilson's (1998) petty academic fiefdoms will likely continue, possibly somewhat weakened, until some extraordinarily compelling reason exists to make consilience essential; for example, the destabilization of human society as it is presently known.

Dominance or Esteem

The degree of dominance that *Homo sapiens* has achieved over natural systems in the last century is dramatically greater than when humans first successfully domesticated biota in a few parts of the planet (e.g., Diamond, 1997b). In evolutionary time, this degree of dominance is a new situation. Moving beyond dominance of nature to respect for the integrity of natural systems in the absence of perceived consequences for not doing so will require a dramatic change in the relationship between academic cultures. If unmistakable consequences are required to precipitate this change, both human society and natural systems will suffer greatly. If irreversible damage has not occurred, human society will have the opportunity to progress in its relationship with natural systems.

What if the Exemptionalist Model is Wrong?

In science, the validation process is a *sine qua non*, but there is no comparable assurance that "humans are exempt from the laws of nature" is a valid assumption! Exemptionalists believe that human technology, creativity, and ingenuity exempt our species from the iron biophysical laws of nature that limit other species. Wilson (1998) has even facetiously named this "new species" *Homo proteus* or "shapechanger man". Wilson lists these among the cultural attributes: "Indeterminately flexible, with vast potential. Wired and information driven. Regrets the current loss of nature and all those vanishing species, but it's the price of progress and has little to do with our future anyway." There is no robust validation of the assertion that human society is not dependent upon other creatures for the services provided by the ecological life support system. Continuing most forms of exponential growth on a finite planet almost certainly involves serious risks. If the global average of children per woman dropped to 2.1, there would still be nearly 8 billion people on the planet in 2050 and 8.5 billion in 2150. At 2.2, population would peak at 12.5 billion in 2050. And, at present, approximately 1.3 billion (or 1 in 5) people have cash incomes of less than US $1.00/day. The slightly more affluent group of 1.6 billion above them would have incomes of US $1-3.00/day. These two groups are already a

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destabilizing force because of starvation, malnutrition, and discontent. They represent over 0.4 of Earth's population, and a global recession could vastly increase their proportionate numbers.

Further Diminishing the Charge on the Intellectual Electric Fence

Anyone paying modest attention to the history of World War II is well aware of interservice rivalries that persisted, even when the outcome was uncertain (e.g., Astor, 1995). Those willing to transcend petty territorial conflicts and take great risks can achieve results dramatically disproportionate to their numbers (e.g., Lord, 1977). Sustainable use of the planet, if possible, will not be achieved in a climate of cultural or disciplinary isolation. Consilience has occurred and is occurring, but not to a degree adequate for addressing problems of the human condition in the first half of the next century. Consilience cannot flourish in a climate of ethnic and religious conflict and other forms of social unrest. Exponential growth and the consequent rapid doubling times bring on crises more rapidly than the social system can handle them. Money, energy, and resources then flow to address the symptoms rather than the causes. Floods, for example, are caused by such factors as deforestation, loss of wetlands, increases in impervious surfaces, and climate change. The effects are exacerbated because humans colonize flatland flood plains and attempt technological solutions (e.g., levees, channelization) rather than developing new social contracts.

Snow's lectures and writings on the two cultures have provoked much academic debate and discussion. Wilson's *Consilience*, a search for a common system of knowledge, provides hope that human society may achieve sustainable use of the planet in the next century. It has been 40 years since Snow's ideas appeared, and human society has, arguably, 40 years to achieve sustainability.

The way humans manage the use of natural resources is a paradigm for the way they structure their societies. The way they respond to the extinction of life forms is a reflection of the value they place on the quality of life of future generations. Arguably, the determining feature of the time is the way in which humans preserve resources and ecological capital for future generations. Links exist between justice and human society's relationship with natural resources.

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Reflections on the Death of C. P. Snow

Can 'Renaissance Man' be resuscitated?

by Derek Turner

Much of C. P. Snow's famous lecture sounds hopelessly out of date today. The world he knew and addressed was already passing away, and it is now largely gone.

Snow wrote and talked at the tail end of an era when the majority of people in positions of influence in the West still thought and spoke of Western culture as a discrete entity, even if many of them didn't quite understand or approve of it. The whole structure of society, based as it was on the assumptions provided by widespread adherence to a compound of classicism, Christianity, and the ideals of the Enlightenment, still just held together. Buildings were made solidly and people had children in large numbers. Youth revolution, sex revolution, class revolution, race revolution, free love, Timothy Leary, prefabricated buildings, graffiti, flared trousers, NAFTA , the Euro, Bill Clinton — all these horrors loomed in an unforeseeable future. A "traditionally educated upper class" continued to dominate public life — a state of affairs which Snow decried, but which sounds like an impossible dream now, in a society dominated by pop stars and footballers! There was residual end-of-war euphoria and increasing prosperity, causing a baby boom and useful technological advances, such as household appliances which did away with much drudgery.

Attitudes Toward Scientists

People seem to have liked scientists in the 1950s and 1960s, for making all those wonderful machines that beat as they swept as they cleaned, and for contributing to the decrease of childhood illness and mortality (although increasingly they questioned the ethics of the makers of the atomic bomb). An hygienic future of perpetual change seemed to many of the Westerners of the 1950s to be not just logical but also desirable.

As Snow noted, there was indeed a cleavage between the arts and the sciences. And of course some of those working in the longer-established disciplines, who were still motivated by vestigial romanticism, were a little dismissive of their fresh-faced counterparts. This cleavage continues today, when not enough people are willing to become scientists, preferring instead the meretricious attractions of "Media Studies" or "Twentieth Century Cinema."

There has not always been such a gulf. In the Middle Ages, alchemists had also been engineers, artists, lawyers, translators, theologians and astrologers — and barbers had put out red-and-white-striped poles to signify their expertise in minor surgery. The "Renaissance Man" ideal aimed at such as Leonardo da Vinci or Sir Philip Sidney was at its peak of popularity. Civilized men were expected to be able to read and speak Latin and Greek and French at least, to be able to write decent verse, to know a little about anatomy, to be able to fight duels, to go hunting, to be able to judge points of law, to know the signs of the Zodiac, and to know what a cosine was (speaking Latin and Greek were in any case necessary for those desiring mathematical expertise, as much of the ancients' work had not yet been translated). The integralism sought in religion was reflected in an integralism of daily life, in which everything was seen as part of a greater whole, and all was in the service of God (at least that was the theory). Hospitals, for example, were not only infirmaries, but also almshouses, laboratories and schools, and they usually had a religious function too.

***Derek Turner** is editor of* Right Now! *and can be reached in London at <rightnow@compuserve.com>.*

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The Need for Specialization

But the limits of trying to be a Renaissance Man are exemplified by the anecdote of Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), the English naval commander and diplomat, whose treatise *On the Cure of Wounds* was based on the premise that wounds could be cured by rubbing "sympathetic powder" on the weapon which had caused the wound.[1] Being a generalist was only possible when there was a relatively low level of scientific knowledge. The sheer volume of scientific knowledge accumulated after the Middle Ages, and the rapidity with which it was accumulated, made specialization inevitable. Educated men still tried to obtain a good general knowledge — Dr. Johnson, Boswell noted, displayed not only great interest in but considerable knowledge of such un-literary occupations as distilling and thatching[2] — but it had become more and more difficult. Specialization is a corollary of living in complex societies, just as people who live in towns neither grow their own food nor make their own clothes.

All of us now tend to concentrate on those things which interest us, and to neglect those which do not interest us. Being a jack-of-all-trades may mean that you are master of none, as the proverb warns. This is unfortunate; for example, I feel I would benefit from knowing more physics and chemistry (although I am much too lazy to actually *do* anything about it!). Indeed, uncharitable though it may sound, Snow himself may have been an exemplar of the problems of trying to encompass too much — his strength lay in the communication of interesting ideas (many of them other people's ideas), rather than in either scientific method or literary excellence. Leavis said, unfairly, that Snow had only "a show of knowledgeableness"; Snow replied, less felicitously, that at least *he* knew the second law of thermodynamics. (The second law of thermodynamics became for Snow a sort of *sine qua non* of the educated man — I must find out what it is myself!)

The Divided West

Having recognized that there is a gulf between the sciences and the arts, the next question is "Does it matter?" I am not sure that it does matter all that much. Scientists would certainly benefit from being a little more imaginative and by thinking about the social, cultural, political and ethical implications of their work. Perhaps they should leave their laboratories once in a while and let their imaginations wander over a good book. Conversely, perhaps poets should pore over test-tubes occasionally or go on geology expeditions. To this extent, Snow's thoughts still have a contemporary resonance.

But our culture is too complex for any individual to comprehend completely. In any case, do we each really need to know much about topics which do not really interest us so long as there are people involved in these other disciplines whom we can trust to be sensible, and who trust us in turn in our fields of speciality? Besides, will scientists ever read more widely and deeply? Even if they have the time, will they have the inclination to study the great works of a dying culture? "What now *are* the great books?" is a question increasingly heard from those who think that books written by dead, white, European males are *ipso facto* "irrelevant." Snow's own list of reading features no great writers and a large number of exceedingly obscure ones[3]. Even science, which ought to be about what is measurable, is under attack from women who dislike the masculine emphasis on getting verifiable answers and call for a new, compassionate "fallibilism" where *everybody* can be right. If Western culture was divided in 1959, when Snow was already concerned about its ability to act decisively in what he perceived to be its own interests, how much more divided and insecure is it now?

"Having recognized that there is a gulf between the sciences and the arts, the next question is, 'Does it matter?'"

An Attack on Literary Intellectuals

Snow's strictures were in any case less a plea for mutual understanding between literary and scientific intellectuals than an attack on literary intellectuals who made him feel uneasy socially, and whose politics he detested. He certainly would not have

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relished the comparison, but his vituperative attacks on the cultural elite are reminiscent of Goering's famous statement that every time he heard the word "culture," he reached for his Browning. All radicals use modernity as a weapon against the past which has created the establishment they despise. Leavis' famous attack on Snow, although intemperate, was justifiable to some extent as a spirited defense of traduced *literateurs*.

"...we now have better means of communicating with each other than ever before, but we all have less worth saying — or, increasingly, there is less we dare to say."

Snow attacked traditionalists' "snobbish and nostalgic social attitudes." "Intellectuals have never tried to understand the Industrial Revolution,"[4] he thought, unfairly ignoring unscientific intellectuals like Charles Dickens. He thought that literary intellectuals were effeminate, an impression that can only have been strengthened by Leavis' *ad hominem* attack. Scientific culture, by contrast, was "steadily heterosexual...[there is] an absence of the feline and oblique."[5] "Fallibilism" was not much in evidence in 1959, even on the political Left!

His dislike of the prevailing culture was also political: "Nine out of ten of those who have dominated literary sensibility in our time — weren't they not only politically silly, but politically wicked? Didn't the influence of all they represent bring Auschwitz that much closer?"[6] Or, equally foolishly, "The Russians have judged the situation sensibly...the people in [Soviet novels] believe in education exactly as my grandfather did, and for the same mixture of idealistic and bread-and-butter reasons."[7] For him, "science, democracy and modernity" were interchangeable and equally desirable[8] and Britain needed to be "modernized" at all costs (an interesting echo of this latter sentiment is to be found in the rhetoric of leading figures in the UK's present Labor government). Like all Leftists, he thought that a great deal could be done by education and that there would be "nobody poor by 2000" (!).[9] Of course, he later became a scientific adviser to a Labor government, and looked forward to a day when a scientific elite would rule, and every day would be what Leavis called woundingly a "technologico-Benthamite" reduction of human experience.[10]

Snow's admiration of scientists was likewise completely irrational: "They are by and large the soundest group of intellectuals we have; there is a moral component right in the grain of science itself, and almost all scientists form their own judgements of the moral life," he opined.[11] That "[Scientific] culture contains a great deal more argument, usually much more rigorous, and almost always at a higher conceptual level, than literary persons' arguments,"[12] he seems to have genuinely believed. That scientists are dispassionate much more often than other people is a claim difficult to sustain. Science, like economics, follows cultural assumptions, not the other way around.

Brave New Technological World

Snow's "technologico-Benthamite" future seems a lot less attractive to us, now that we effectively have such a society. Technology has become the only uncontroversial activity left in the Western world; every other movement implies some kind of "value-judgement," which will offend one or more groups in our diverse and fragmented societies. The effect of this is that we now have better means of communicating with each other than ever before, but we all have less worth saying — or, increasingly, there is less we *dare* to say. We live longer, but enjoy ourselves less. The anodyne language of "prosperity" and "rising standards of living" which Snow wanted to hear replacing the hated "nostalgic and snobbish attitudes" is now the common currency of even ostensibly "conservative" parties in most Western countries, which parties should surely be doing their best to preserve our unhygienic, colorful local inconsistencies and inequities.

Lionel Trilling said that both Snow and Leavis were equally "committed to England" in their different ways.[13] This fact in itself actually shows how

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substantially intact our national (and Western) culture was then, despite the local difficulty of which Snow complained. We are now in a position where, with honorable exceptions, *neither* our scientific nor our literary elite (nor any other of our elites) are "committed to England." Indeed, they are committed to anything *but* England in many cases.

Westerners must now recapture their culture. They will do this by learning to have faith in themselves again. Our scientific achievements, such as the Apollo missions, may be inspiring and useful as a means of instilling self-worth, but I disagree with Snow's Left-wing view that science is the most important field of endeavor. If anything, it is the least important field, and it has been used to justify so many unpleasant things that its contributions should always be greeted with considerable reserve. It is in the arts, instead, that combat must be joined between those who love the West and everybody else. Snow should have defended, not attacked, our now eclipsed high culture, which was our chief defense against the brave new world of sterility and science he and others did so much to bring into being. TSC

NOTES

[1] *Brief Lives*, John Aubrey

[2] *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, James Boswell

[3] *The Two Cultures*, C. P. Snow, Cambridge University Press, p.63

[4] Ibid., p.22

[5] Ibid., p.xxvi, introduction by Stefan Collini

[6] Ibid., p 7

[7] Ibid., pp.36-37

[8] Ibid., p.xlii

[9] Ibid., p.42

[10] Ibid., p.xxxiii

[11] Ibid., p.13

[12] Ibid., p.12

[13] Ibid., p.xxxix

Greens and Two Cultures

Is there a fault line between science/technology and environmentalists?

by Otis L. Graham, Jr.

C. P. Snow complained in 1959 that throughout the West a gulf of miscomprehension separated "the culture of science" from the other half of the world of intellect, which he called "the culture of letters." He appealed for a narrowing of that gulf, to "produce creative chances" by interaction. But it was clear that his real intention was to somehow instruct the latter culture in the superiority of the former, so that the world could be saved by science and technology. The culture of letters was to him hopelessly reactionary, lacking not only the optimism but also the superb transnational reform moral vision of science, allied to the Industrial Revolution.

Snow had not changed his mind on any part of "this assembly of topics" when he looked back on the essay and the attendant controversy four years later (see Snow, "The Two Cultures, A Second Look," in C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge University Press, 1993, rev.; Introduction by Stefan Collini), but after forty years one is astonished at the changes in outlook that have taken place. Probably the chief of these is how far we have come from Snow's view of science, as other writers in this symposium make clear. Science, the heart of the Enlightenment and the Western idea, is not only invaluable. It is also, in varying ways depending upon who makes the point,

Otis L. Graham, Jr. *is a professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Wilmington. He is the author of* A Limited Bounty: The U.S. Since World War II.

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socially constructed and thus fallible, in need of intelligent critique and supplementation in ways that are not and will surely never be settled matters. The program that he derived out of science — the transformation of the impoverished Third World into societies as advanced and affluent as the West, and all this in one or two generations — did not of course arise out of science, but from Snow's own moral compass. Science and technology were only the tools and enablers. When asked by a campus audience in 1971 what was "the cause," Snow responded: "Peace. Food. No more people than the earth can take." (lxxi) He had not reached into a box labeled "science" and pulled out that compelling summary. A life in science had presumably supplied a vision of large possibilities, but the moral choices arose out of family, church, school, the playing fields of Eton. Snow wrote at the peak of the prestige of both science and technology, and invited a wider conversation with the other, rival culture, anticipating capitulation. Whatever has happened on the literary, non-science side, science and technology have over the rest of this century been negotiating claims in the territory he thought rightfully theirs alone — what should we do? After science speaks, then we get down to moral choices.

If this much is obvious, perhaps not everyone interested in these issues has followed their evolution in the enterprise that might be called the greening of modern consciousness. It is no secret that environmentalism as a social movement and assemblage of ideas has had some contentious relations with science (and technology) of late. Indeed, were Snow to return and write that essay again today, he might well lump the Greens in with the literary reactionaries as hopelessly anti-science. Others do so in his absence. Paul Gross and Norman Levitt, in their *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels With Science*, quote ecofeminist Carolyn Merchant arguing (in their view) that the emergence of the scientific worldview "desacralized nature," identified it as female, and led both nature and women to become the objects of rapacious exploitation. Thus "radical environmentalism" must reject the authority of science and use other tools.[1] This somewhat mis-states Merchant's quarrel with science, which is serious enough. "Mechanism" is her word for C. P. Snow's science/technology, and it should be replaced by "a spectrum of new sciences" such as James Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis and Chaos theory, "infused with an ecological perspective ... rooted in biospecies equality, appropriate technologies" and a rejection of both market economies and male domination.[2]

This one example of a skirmish line of combat between (parts of) science and (parts of) environmentalism could easily be multiplied, undoubtedly to the vexation of C. P. Snow's spirit. Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope stirred up commentary with a piece in *Sierra* in 1998 arguing that the scientific community had become the stronghold of the "Promethean ethos" that rejected the idea of limits

"It is no secret that environmentalism as a social movement and assemblage of ideas has had some contentious relations with science (and technology) of late."

and saw environmentalists as Luddites.[3] Snow's reaction to that might well have been to bunch such Sierra Club Greens with the misguided literary intellectuals he had tilted against. Recent writers do this for him. Take as an example Virginia Postrel's *The Future And Its Enemies* (1998), a categorization of Americans into two camps, Dynamists and Stasists, with all environmentalists firmly consigned to the encampment of those "reactionary" (Snow's most powerful adjective) Stasists who would fight change, limit human freedom, their yearning for the past blocking a better future.[4] Duke geographer (and environmentalist) Martin Lewis, at a conference on "The Flight From Science and Reason" in 1995 conceded that "hostility toward science, coupled with misgivings about reason, is the norm among a sizable and influential group of academics devoted to the study of — environmental philosophy."[5]

The accuracy of this sort of polarizing depiction of a culture war between some forms of radical

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environmentalism, such as Deep Ecology and Ecofeminism, and some spokespersons for science, is too large a topic for this occasion. I wish to report briefly on another front in the "Science and its Opponents" debate that Snow energized with his 1959 lecture. The science of ecology, mentor and ally to the entire environmentalist project, has in recent years presented a radically different version of natural history that has sent environmentalists scrambling for firm ground.

"The science of ecology took form in the 1920s, and toward mid-century gifted writer-ecologists ... were conveying to the public its message that everything is connected to everything else and humans had best change course from environmental destruction to conservation."

The science of ecology took form in the 1920s, and toward mid-century gifted writer-ecologists like Aldo Leopold and Paul Sears were conveying to the public its message that everything is connected to everything else and humans had best change course from environmental destruction to conservation. The early ecologists worked within the pioneering theoretical framework established by Frederic L. Clements, which portrayed Nature as a series of vegetational successions aiming at a "climax stage" of harmony and balance. Seen in this way, Nature's "mature ecosystems" took on a sort of primal moral authority, and the task of environmentalists was to align humanity to respect the natural world and protect it. This is the conception arising from ecology that animated and gave resolve to the environmentalist movement of the 1960s and after.

Unknown to the movement or to the journalists who reported on it, scientific ecology was veering off in another direction. As traced in the lucid history of ecology by Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy* (1994 revised), younger scientists were abandoning the Clementian paradigm. An influential 1973 article in the *Journal of the Arnold Arboretum* by William Drury and Ian Nisbet offered a radically new view that ecological succession does not aim at equilibrium, nor at anything in particular. Other ecologists quickly fleshed out an entirely new vision of Nature as a place of flux and impermanence. The words "disturbance" — by fire, or ice, or drought — became prominent, with Nature now depicted, in Worster's words, as "a landscape of patches ... a patchwork quilt of living things ... responding to an unceasing barrage of perturbations. The stitches in that quilt never hold for long."[6]

If this is the state of the art of science — ecology, in this case — C. P. Snow and his many allies would have us all accept it as the last word (for now). But what does this shift in ecological science mean for the environmental protection project? If Mother Nature is not aiming at some climax wilderness, the cathedral that John Muir gave us many reasons to preserve, then what do we preserve or restore, to what state, and why? The teleology of the Green project has been profoundly undermined — or so it seems at this stage. Ruminations on the meaning of this apparent loss of an ideal and anchor for environmentalism, along with the realization that humanity is now irrevocably in charge of what the universe is and what it will become, can be found in Bill McKibben, *The End of Nature* (1996), and William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground* (1996).

But these authors do not challenge the science that presents us with a new Nature, aimless and fluctuating. Donald Worster, however, is not in a science-accommodating mood. "Ecology ... should never be taken as an all-wise, always trustworthy guide. We must be willing to challenge this authority, and indeed challenge the authority of science in general, not be quick to scorn or vilify or behead, but simply, now and then, to question."[7]

To question science? Once upon a time the Yes answer came only from religion, and for the most part that has seemed an unpromising brawl with no agreed upon rules. Then a sort of Yes came also from the

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literary intellectuals who were ignorant of science and happy to ignore it. Though Snow's "optimistic technologism," in Stefan Collini's phrase, was obviously open to question, he seemed to be winning every argument about science because his opponents were anti-science. But something rather different has happened in this discussion, which he did not live to hear, and Worster's comment marks the change on the terrain of ecological science. Across the range of science a new "chaos theory" from physics spreads, to biology, astronomy, elsewhere. The world is made up of random events beyond human comprehension, is fundamentally disorderly. It is thus beyond collective control. Nature has no infinitely wise plan that we are bound to respect, nor can humans successfully plan for ecological restoration. "What, after all, does the phrase "environmental damage" mean in a world of so much natural chaos?", Worster asks.[8] We will have to formulate an answer out of our values.

Snow might apprehend this as an attack upon science, but it is instead a challenge to the perceived political implications ("Preserving Nature makes no scientific sense, and thus makes no sense") of one view of the state of science. If science is socially constructed, that part of it is socially debatable. Human planning which includes restoration and conservation, based on human values, are back on the table.

Is this anti-science? Worster's objection to chaos theory and the patch chaos of much contemporary ecology is based on the proposition that these schools growing up within science dethrone — "de-center" is the going term — the Enlightenment, and Sir Isaac Newton. A vision of such a disorderly world is the end of science, and must be resisted. Thus what sounds like scientific insubordination can be seen as defense from the outside.

We cannot have Snow's response to all this, but I find it easy to imagine him heartened that the conversation he wished to provoke has flourished. And that the environmentalist community, with which he had considerable sympathies, contains a mainstream reform branch with much invested in the scientific project and a feminist/Deep Ecology wing in its own way strongly interested in science ("a spectrum of new sciences," in Merchant's words) and technology ("appropriate"). Outright anti-science sentiments can here and there be found in green coloration, but Snow's education surely told him that this was a permanent condition in all sectors of society. If he described the state of affairs in 1959 accurately, a scientific culture facing an uncomprehending anti-science culture across a great gulf, then it seems that we close the century in a healthier condition than in the 1950s, which suggests progress. Can we score another one for the Enlightenment Team? TSC

NOTES

[1] Paul R. Gross and Norman Leavitt, *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels With Science* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p.153. See also Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (Harper and Row, 1980).

[2] Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, 1989), pp.263-270.

[3] Carl Pope, "Science At War With Itself," *Sierra* (March/April. 1998), and see also the exchange of letters in *Sierra* (July/August, 1998), p.10.

[4] Virginia Postrel, *The Future and Its Enemies* (Free Press, 1998), pp.69-70.

[5] Lewis quoted in Christina Hoff Sommers, "The Flight From Science and Reason," *The Wall Street Journal* (July 10, 1995), p.A12.

[6] Donald Worster, The Ecology of Order and Chaos," in Char Miller and Hal Rothman, eds., *Out of the Woods: Essays in Environmental History* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), p.10. See also Worster, *Nature's Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 1974, 1994 revised).

[7] Worster, "The Ecology of Order and Chaos," p.4.

[8] Ibid., p.16.

On Two Cultures

"The distinction between the two cultures of science and the humanities made famous by C. P. Snow thus persists. Until that fundamental divide is closed or at least reconciled in some congenial manner, the relation between man and the living world will remain problematic."

— E. O. Wilson in *Biophilia*
Harvard University Press
1984

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Hermeneutical Phase Transitions Within Non-Linear Thermodynamic Systems

C. P. Snow, Sokal's Hoax and the Science Wars

by David Payne

They do not understand that it is by being at variance with itself that it coheres with itself ... One must realize that conflict is common to all and all things come to pass according to strife and necessity.
—HERACLITUS, DK B51, 80

There are two strands to the "Two Cultures" debate, both of which are discussed in C.P. Snow's essay, but which are not always kept separate. These strands indicate two gulfs between the cultures. The first is factual: scientists don't know the arts and those within the arts don't know science. This problem doesn't seem to warrant much attention, but rather seems to be the natural result of a person's interests. If you want to be excellent in a particular field, you must immerse yourself in that field and ignore other fields, at least to an extent. This is more true in modern times than in the past due to the sheer amount of available knowledge.

The second gulf is more interesting, for here the claim is that there is a *methodological* difference between science and the arts, a difference which leads to a feud over whose is the better or more important methodology. This feud has gotten nasty of late because the arts side — in particular: philosophy — has had the audacity to claim that the scientific methodology is really no different from their own. In other words, the philosophers have tried to close the gulf between the two cultures and the scientists will have none of it. This explains the most recent vehemence behind the "science wars," but of course, there has always been a war.[1]

In 1996, Alan Sokal, a physicist from New York University, fanned the flames of this war when an article of his was published in *Social Text*, a journal of cultural studies. The article, entitled "Transgressing the Boundaries — Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity,"[2] was, in Sokal's words, "liberally salted with nonsense" — nonsense not recognized as such by the editors of *Social Text*, who published the article without editorial review, much to their subsequent embarrassment. The article has come to be known as "Sokal's Hoax," and was revealed by Sokal himself in an article published soon after in the journal *Lingua Franca*.[3] But what did it prove? Sokal seemed to want to show at least two things: (1) the scientific ignorance of those in cultural studies in particular, and the arts in general, and (2) the lack of clarity in non-scientific thinking. There is a third point, though, that becomes clear in the *Lingua Franca* article, viz., (3) Sokal's belief in the absurdity of what is known as the postmodern position. I would like to address these points in order.

The first point is not worth arguing about since it was never really in doubt. I said as much in the first paragraph of this paper. I guess Sokal's point would be, then, that since those in the arts are scientifically ignorant, they should not tread on the sacred ground of science. Point granted. If you haven't devoted your life to the complexities of quantum physics you will never understand the subtleties of such and will only make a fool of yourself by dabbling in the field. The same is true, though, of every discipline. In particular, the same is true of scientists who dabble in philosophy. Competence in science is no guarantee of

David G. Payne, Ph.D. *teaches logic and philosophy at North Central Michigan College, Petoskey, MI. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

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competence in philosophy, as Steven Weinberg demonstrates in some of his recent articles on Thomas Kuhn.[4] There is a hidden assumption here by the scientist, who seems to think that if you are smart enough to do science you *ipso facto* can do philosophy, but not vice versa. He fails to realize that you can no more dabble in the one than the other without coming across as ignorant.

Sokal's second point has to do with the lack of clarity in non-scientific thinking. Again, point granted. There has been a lot of gibberish written over the years under the guise of philosophy and literary criticism. And there is more gibberish in the arts than in science. But isn't that to be expected? The scientist deals almost exclusively with the impersonal world, i.e., with the world of objects that are not conscious of being studied. Such objects lend themselves to objective study. They are not malevolent, they just *are*. "Nature is subtle, but not malicious," to paraphrase Einstein. The complacency of scientific objects of study lends itself to prediction and categorization. This complacency only begins to decay on the subatomic level when ... oops, never mind.

Philosophers, psychologists, social scientists, etc. deal with a different animal, one that bites back, and this aspect of the object studied makes that object epistemologically opaque. This inscrutable, muddled world of ambiguity, in all its unpredictability, is what poets, novelists, artists and philosophers are concerned with, and it cannot be quantified. When confronted with a work of art, whether a painting or a novel or a person, we are confronted with an ambiguous something that is there for us to interpret. Different people may derive different meanings from the same work, and there is no way to know even in principle who is correct. The artist/actor himself cannot be trusted, for even if he is trying to be truthful he may not be aware of his inner motivations, or may be repressing them. The gap, then, between the two cultures hangs on this epistemological problem.

There are those, though, who think the above distinction is false; that even the impersonal world is a work of art to be interpreted, and this leads us to the third point: Sokal's belief in the absurdity of postmodernism. The heart of the postmodern agenda is that interpretation is everything. You "deconstruct" a text or a theory by laying bare the underlying perspectives and prejudices from which the author is writing. (This is obviously an oversimplification, but it will have to do in this context.) The most radical consequence of this agenda is that there is no "absolute" perspective — everything is an interpretation. This view infuriates people like Sokal and Weinberg, who want to hold that what they do, science, deals with Truth; *the* Truth. How could anyone in his right mind believe that there is nothing but interpretation? Jump off a ten story building, says Sokal. Interpret that!

"This inscrutable, muddled world of ambiguity, in all its unpredictability, is what poets, novelists, artists and philosophers are concerned with, and it cannot be quantified."

This is all very amusing, for no one in his right mind *does* believe such drivel. Sokal is venting his wrath against a straw man. No one of substance holds the radical position that he belittles, or at least not enough people hold it to warrant an attack as if it were a major intellectual movement. It is more a position held briefly when you begin studying philosophy, and then is dismissed when you realize there is serious business to be conducted. Sokal, who is merely dabbling in philosophy, evidently does not recognize this; but, as a dabbler, we forgive his ignorance.

But the claim to be dealing with Truth rather than with something less is of interest. Dr. Johnson, of course, beat Sokal to the jump-off-the-ten-story-building ploy long before when he claimed to have refuted Bishop Berkeley's idealism by kicking a stone. Neither are successful rebuttals, but the point is telling. Sokal, Weinberg, et al most certainly do not want it thought that their scientific theories are on a par with literary theories that try to discover the meaning of a mere text.

Since it is important to see the positions in the

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debate, let me lay them out by using a literary analogy. Suppose we have a novel by an author, now dead, who never attempted to enlighten readers as to his intentions in writing the novel. What does it mean to say that one has a "correct" interpretation of such a novel other than that your interpretation is self-consistent, adheres well with the text and explains everything nicely without straying from such? Some individuals bemoan the fact that we can never know what the "true" interpretation of the novel is since the author never enlightened us before he died. These are

"The postmodernist, with his world view, is in effect offering an olive branch to the scientist, saying: "listen, we're in the same boat here, we should be able to get along." But the scientist refuses to agree, feeling that to agree is to somehow demote his inquiry from necessary truths to contingent ones."

the **skeptics**. They hold that there is something out there that we might want to call the correct interpretation, but we will never know what it is. (Immanuel Kant was the culmination of this line of thinking in philosophy.) Then there are the **scientists** like Weinberg and Sokal, who think that we *do* know what the true interpretation is because the true interpretation (the one that the author had in mind but never told us) *just is* the one that conforms best with the evidence. They never tell us how they *know* this fortuitous correspondence holds — in fact, they cannot even argue for it without begging all the important questions. And finally there are the **postmoderns**, who don't care that the author is dead because they aren't trying to match their interpretation up to his anyway. They believe the text stands on its own, and to say an interpretation is true is just to say that it is self-consistent, conforms best with the evidence, etc. Notice the difference between this and the scientists' claim. Truth for the postmoderns is textual coherence, *not* textual correspondence to some unknown and unknowable something, some *ding an sich* out there somewhere maybe.

I think the postmodern position, called "pragmatism" in modern philosophy, has merit.[5] It is a position that takes the skeptical claim seriously — if you can never possibly know whether your language matches up (corresponds) to reality, why even worry about it? What hangs on it? Unfortunately, this postmodern position makes many scientists see red.[6] And, if they really understand the postmodern position, the only reason I can see for their anger is that they feel such a view belittles their field of inquiry. The postmodernist, with his world view, is in effect offering an olive branch to the scientist, saying: "listen, we're in the same boat here, we should be able to get along." But the scientist refuses to agree, feeling that to agree is to somehow demote his inquiry from necessary truths to contingent ones.

There is one other concern, of course. If you give up the thing-in-itself, even if you can never know such a thing, haven't you cast yourself adrift in a sea of relativism? The fun answer is "yes," if you simply want to infuriate your opponent. But more to the point, if you were never anchored anyway, the concept of relativism begins to crumble, for it only has meaning in relation to a now discarded absolute. Thus, as Richard Rorty has pointed out, accusing a pragmatist of relativism is like accusing an atheist of blasphemy. She is no longer working in a theory where such things matter, and screaming "relativism" is just another jump-off-the-ten-story-building ploy. But again, we wouldn't expect a dabbler to appreciate such subtleties.

I made the offhand remark in the second paragraph that the science wars have always been with us. By this I have in mind the distinction that we trace back to the Enlightenment / Romantic wars of the previous century and even back to the Appollonian / Dionysian wars of ancient Greece. One extreme is always denouncing the other. As an example we cite the critics of the enlightenment (Derrida, Leavis, etc.) who claim that science and technology, with their

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penchant for categorization and abstraction, lend themselves to an authoritarian power structure. This is true, since predictability is the essence of science, and is also the hallmark of control — we can control what we can predict. Hence the popular fear of the nefarious white-robed scientist in his laboratory. Far better to be a romantic, someone who deals with the blooming buzzing confusion of events, and cares about the individual as an individual and not merely as something to be quantified and controlled. But in response to this, the defender of the enlightenment shows how the romantics, with their idealizations and their focus on their own fuzzy selves, tend to ignore those other than themselves and so, in their blindness, also promote a power structure. This is also true. Marjorie Levinson, in her analysis of Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey," shows that on the day the great romantic wrote of the serenity of the setting, July 13, 1798, what he really would have seen and heard would have been much different: the desperate poor hanging about the ruins begging for alms from the crowds of middle class tourists, the sounds of the nearby ironworks casting cannon for the war with France, the air darkened by smoke, etc.[7] *Now* who is abstracting? As the artist and the scientist vie for who has the humanizing endeavor and who the dehumanizing, we would do well to remember the aspect pointed out by Walter Benjamin when he said of our cultural treasures, those produced by scientists and non-scientists alike, that they all "have an origin which [one] cannot contemplate without horror. They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries."[8]

"Far better to be a romantic, someone who deals with the blooming buzzing confusion of events, and cares about the individual as an individual and not merely as something to be quantified and controlled."

My response to all this talk of "science wars" and "two cultures" is to point back to Heraclitus, the pre-Socratic philosopher who first recognized that everything is in flux; claiming there was a constant movement between the extremes but that this very movement brought about an overriding stability, a *logos*. The *logos*, however, only existed as a movement between the extremes. Once you appreciate the historical nature of the two cultures debate, and see it in this Heraclitean light, you can sit back contentedly and watch the fracas with a smile. The debate is timeless but necessary, for its cutting edges define the warring topics themselves and thereby help us in our quest to define our place in the universe.

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NOTES

[1] Http://members.tripod.com/ScienceWars/ is an excellent site for current articles on this topic.

[2] *Social Text* (Spring/Summer 1996), pp.217-252.

[3] "A Physicist Experiments With Cultural Studies," *Lingua Franca* (May/June 1996), pp.62-64. Both articles can be found at http://www.physics.nyu/faculty/sokal/index.html.

[4] See Weinberg, "Sokal's Hoax," *The New York Review of Books*, August 8, 1996; "The Revolution that Didn't Happen," *The New York Review of Books*, October 8, 1998 and his response to criticism in "T. S. Kuhn's 'Non-Revolution': An Exchange," *The New York Review of Books*, February 18, 1999.

[5] No, I'm not going to say it's "true." If you thought I was, you are a dabbler.

[6] Not all scientists see red. Many adhere to the "instrumentalist" position which claims that all that matters is what the instruments tell us, not what they may or may not point to "out there." The Copenhagen Interpretation of quantum mechanics is similar to this in that … never mind.

[7] Marjorie Levinson, *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems* (Cambridge" Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[8] Quoted in Mark Edmundson, *Literature against Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.124. It is from this excellent work that I derived the Levinson critique of Wordsworth mentioned above. Edmundson proceeds to give a critique of Levinson.

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The Culture of Growth and the Culture of Limits

by Richard D. Lamm

The opposite of a correct statement is a false statement; the opposite of a profound truth may well be another profound truth.
— Neils Bohr (1885-1962)

Humankind can seldom resist dividing aspects of life into two opposing positions. "Black or white," "all or nothing," "either you're with me or you're against me" are part of our vernacular and thinking.

One has to be careful, of course, not to overuse these stark divisions. Truths overlap, reality is seldom simple, and the color of truth is usually gray. But as C.P. Snow has shown us in *Two Cultures,* it is still useful to make a point by delineating contrasting viewpoints. Even when the exercise is exaggerated, which it often is, the concept is immensely useful. Like a contrast agent in radiology, the very starkness helps clarify. We often cannot appreciate the full nuances of a problem without a contrast, often in the form of parables, metaphors, and simplifications.

C. P. Snow in *Two Cultures* contrasted the differences between the world of science and the world of letters and went on to observe: "Between the two there is a gulf of mutual incomprehension ... sometimes hostility and dislike, but most of all lack of understanding."

This same "two cultures" metaphor is useful to spotlight what I consider a new chasm of "mutual incomprehension" — the culture of growth and the culture of limits. Are resources finite or infinite? Can we solve the problems of growth with more growth? Will existing mechanisms and institutions (including capitalism) be sufficient and successful for the next 200 years as they have been for the past 200 years? There is a culture of growth which denies limits, and a culture of limits which seeks to adapt to those limits.

Aldo Leopold saw a similar conflict in writing about his "land ethic":

> *One of the anomalies of modern ecolog[ical thought] is that it is the creation of two groups, each of which seems barely aware of the existence of the other. The one studies human community, almost as if it were a separate entity, and calls its finding sociology, economics, and history. The other studies the plant and animal community and completely relegates the hodgepodge of politics to "liberal arts." The inevitable fusion of these two lines of thought will, perhaps, constitute the outstanding advance of the present century.* (Sand County Almanac)

Most of human experience is on the side of the population growth/economic growth culture. The culture of growth has succeeded brilliantly. It allowed survival in a harsh world. It has brought health, wealth, increased life expectancy, leisure and — most important — freedom. Growth has approached the status of a religion. Sociologist Peter Berger writes:

> *Development is not just a goal of rational action in the economic, political and social spheres. It is also, and very deeply, the focus of redemptive hopes and expectations. In an important sense, development is a religious category. Even for those living on the most precarious margins of existence, development is not just a matter of improved material conditions; it is at least also a vision of redemptive transformation.*

But even in our religious fervor for growth we must ask, "can it last?" Is this a sustainable vision? Is this the *permanent* secret to success for societies?

The other culture presumes that for all our genius, we cannot escape ecological limits. This viewpoint

Richard D. Lamm, *former governor of Colorado, is director of the Center for Public Policy at the University of Denver.*

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holds that we must modify, and in some cases reverse, mores and cultures that have worked well and under which we have prospered for hundreds of years. They assert that we can delay but not totally avoid the consequences of our infinite demands on a finite earth. They argue that a very fundamental new world has emerged; a set of circumstances which is as important as the agricultural or industrial revolutions, a chance to change the world of growth into the world of sustainability.

"Is the past a guide to the future, or a 'moral trap' that keeps us from recognizing that we are approaching the limits of carrying capacity?"

Some would say that this is merely an extension of Snow's "two cultures." But the stakes are much higher in the limits/growth dichotomy because they go to the basic assumptions of our civilization. As philosopher Hershel Elliott warns: "We can disagree on the right way to live and use resources, but we cannot avoid the collective consequences of wrong ways." Have economic growth and population growth become more problem than solution? Is the ecosystem a hurdle or a barrier? What is the vision of our future and how do we organize the economy and social systems of the future? Can "Yankee ingenuity" and a "can-do" culture solve this problem as it has solved so many others? Or do we have to change our basic operating assumptions and culture?

One of the human dilemmas is that we often see the world not as it is but as we think it is. Columnist and thinker Walter Lippman warns: "At the core of every moral code, there is a picture of human nature, a map of the universe, and a version of history..." Our economy, our ethical standards, our moral precepts, depend on the way we look at the world. Thomas Sowell talks about "visions [that] are the foundations on which theories are built" and observes that most of us have mental maps of the world which do much to control our viewpoints. He divided those "visions" into "constrained" and "unconstrained."

These visions arise from fundamentally different premises, says Sowell. Visions are like maps which guide us through the tangles of bewildering complexities. And like maps, visions have to leave out many concrete features so as to have us focus on a few keys pathways to our goal. Visions are at once indispensable and dangerous — precisely to the extent that we confuse them with reality itself. Visions paint with a broad brush; what has been deliberately neglected may not turn out to be negligible in its effect on results.

> *The great evils of the world (war, poverty, crime) are seen in completely different terms by those with constrained and unconstrained visions. If human options are not inherently constrained, then the presence of such repugnant and disastrous phenomena virtually cry out for explanation — and for solutions. But if the limitations on the passions of man are at the heart of these painful phenomena, then what requires explanation are the ways in which they have been avoided or minimized.* (Conflict of Visions)

Are there limits in the physical world, or are those "limits" only limitations of our vision, creativity, technology and ingenuity? Are there limits to human development in the physical world around us, or only in our minds? Can the mental map that Western Civilization has formed in our minds and among our human expectations be achieved in the physical world we live in? Is the past a guide to the future, or a "moral trap" that keeps us from recognizing that we are approaching the limits of carrying capacity? Could we end up being victims of our past successes because they have given us a wrong mental map?

> *Believers in unconstrained visions seek the special causes of war, poverty, and crime. Believers in the constrained view seek the special causes of peace, wealth and law-abiding society. In the unconstrained vision, there is no tractable reason for social evils; therefore, no reason they cannot be solved with sufficient moral commitment. In the constrained vision, whenever the artifices or strategies are strained or ameliorated inherent human evils*

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will themselves have costs, some in the form of other social ills created by the civilizing institutions so that all that is possible is a prudent tradeoff. (Conflict of Visions)

This reasoning fits perfectly into the dichotomy between the culture of growth and the culture of limits. The jury is still out — neither side can claim victory — but the world is developing and increasing standards of living, so the presumption should be with growth. That is not something we should give up easily. However, it is not the end of the argument for, as Huxley reminds us, "facts do not cease to exist just because they are ignored."

One of the great challenges of history is for a people to know when a new world or a new paradigm has emerged. It is my passionate belief that economic theories cannot be at variance with ecological reality. Our economic system must adapt to our ecological system, or, at a minimum, our economic system cannot be allowed to destroy our ecological system. We are blinded by our past successes — successes which make it all the harder to change our policies to meet the new realities. We cannot assume that the policies and practices of the last century will be applicable for the next. "Success" in societies is not a permanent state but a permanent challenge. Remember Marshall McLuhan's dictum: "Nothing fails like success."

Is additional growth of population and economic activity an asset or a liability? Can science delay or avoid the consequences of finiteness (limits)? Are science and technology a cure or could they be part of the disease? Are technology and ingenuity solutions or do they merely buy us some time? The larger ecosystem is likely to be totally indifferent as to whether we get the answers to these questions right. Natural ecosystems are never altruistic. Millions have died in the past — the just and the unjust — due to the impact of nature (the ecosystem).

The assumptions that undergird our whole society presume infinite resources. But are these assumptions correct or in error? Public policy, and most of our institutions as presently structured, assume unlimited resources and an infinite capacity to create wealth with no ecological limits. The resulting society is vastly different from a society that assumes environmental and ecological limits.

I think the future can be better planned for by confronting limits to the best of our ability, and by heeding the warning that infinite growth cannot take place in a finite world. The fact that so far we have been so successful in pushing back those limits does not dissuade me from believing that those limits are real. "All modern day curves [population, consumption, environmental destruction] lead to disaster," warned former French President Giscard d'Estaing. Human civilizations live on the upper shoulders of some incredibly steep geometric curves. We have used more resources since 1950 than in the preceding one million years. We experience more change in one year than our grandparents did in a lifetime. Yesterday's solutions have a bad habit of becoming today's problems.

"Public policy, and most of our institutions as presently structured, assume unlimited resources and an infinite capacity to create wealth with no ecological limits. The resulting society is vastly different from a society that assumes environmental and ecological limits."

Evidence shows that something is fundamentally wrong with the growth paradigm. Our globe is warming, our forests are shrinking, our icecaps are melting, our coral is dying, our fisheries are being depleted, our deserts are encroaching, our water is under more and more demand. I suspect these to be the early warning signs of a world approaching the limits of its carrying capacity. We cannot call on science, technology and human ingenuity to develop new solutions to these new challenges. We must instead change our mental map of the world, our culture, and our economy.

I suggest we need not better scientists and

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technicians, but better poets and prophets. We have to modify ourselves and our lifestyles. We are unlikely to be the first species in the history of the world to be exempt from limits.

This writer has been impressed by the scholar Hershel Elliott who has taken similar reasoning and applied it to the attempt to change all "human-centered ethics." Our *hubris* notwithstanding, we ultimately must live within a limited and increasingly fragile ecosystem. Elliott doubts that growth can ultimately solve growth-related problems; we must move to sustainability.

"I suggest we need not better scientists and technicians, but better poets and prophets."

> *It is extremely improbable that human ingenuity could devise a system that would be as stable and secure as the one which nature has already designed. The new human system would be unlikely to function for more than a few ticks of geological time.*

He questions whether *"a priori,* human-centered ethics" are sustainable in a finite ecosystem. He postulates that no ethical system or value system can be valid if it cumulatively destroys the ecosystem of which it is a part.

Elliott points out that however laudatory and well-meaning it seems in human terms, we cannot give priority to humans over every other living thing.

> *When the man-made biosystem fails because of some ethical misconception about how human beings ought to live in the world, it will be irrelevant that Christians, Muslims and Jews had believed that the true morality was revealed to man in the eternal Word of God. It will be beside the point that professionals in ethics and philosophy had used the demands of conscience, the self-evident truths of reason, their theories of justice, or the logical inferences from moral language to justify their moral convictions about how humans beings ought to live and act.*

I fear that Elliott is right. We cannot avoid the collective consequences of wrong ways. The ecosystem has little use for our elegantly reasoned ethical systems. To be valid, a thought pattern must be sustainable. "…[T]he fact is that if the practice of a mistaken conception of ethics should ever allow the world's life-support system to break down, nature's experiment with Homo sapiens would be over. "If living by a system of ethics should make human life physically impossible, that ethics is absurd."

We must reconcile our thinking and culture to the ecological system that surrounds us. No matter how attractive and elegantly reasoned is the world built up in our constrained vision, it ultimately must fit within the reality of the physical world. As Elliott points out:

> *The culture of growth which drives the ethical, political, economic thinking in the Western nations, confuses the two domains (mental world and physical world). It assumes the open-ended, infinite expansion which is possible in the mental-cultural domain is also possible in the physical world.*

But I fear that it is not. If these fears are valid, the ultimate dichotomy will be between our mental map of the future being largely an extrapolation of the past, and a new mental model requiring profound cultural and economic change to align human activity to the realistic limits of our ecosystem.

Peter Russell in his book *Waking Up in Time* gives us a powerful metaphor to ponder. Describing a scene from a Zola novel he says:

> *While a trainload of soldiers on the way to war is rushing downhill, the driver and fireman are fighting. The fireman insists on stoking the engine and the driver is trying to stop him. As they tussle, one grabs the other by the throat and together they tumble off the engine, leaving the trainload of drinking and singing soldiers hurtling through the night, totally unaware of what has happened. And there the book ends!*

Is humanity on a similar course? TSC

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Consilience in the New Millennium?

by Miles D. Wolpin

For half a century natural scientists have hoped that their empirical findings would be assimilated with alacrity by the humanities and social sciences. While this has transpired to a limited degree, ideologically-driven paradigmatic resistance to antithetical empirical findings has, if anything, intensified in the post-modern era. Ironically, there is an empirical explanation for this recalcitrance — one which should temper our optimism.

Caution, skepticism, and a sense of our limits are among the attributes of the conservative perspective. We should be quite careful when confronted with the optimistic scenarios of our future. This is particularly true for anyone cognizant of prevailing ideological trends in the West, East and South, or what Irving Louis Horowitz once termed the "Three Worlds of Development."[1]

Despite the fact that C.P. Snow observed a marked hiatus between the humanities and natural science a half-century ago, there is little evidence that it has narrowed significantly since then. Indeed, the recent popularity of post-modern deconstruction as a faith for growing numbers in conjunction with an impressive continuing neo-Marxist presence should inspire reserve in projecting probable empirical dominance.[2]

There are two ironic aspects of Wilson's (1998:42,62) optimism. Of lesser importance is the fact that his Enlightenment-inspired faith in the assimilation of biological and other scientific findings for the betterment of mankind serves to locate him in the progressive or left-leaning tendency — certainly as someone with a liberal spirit. Yet the fact that our contemporary egalitarian intelligentsia places him on the right itself underscores why our skepticism is in order.

This is suggestive of an even more fundamental ironic anomaly. Empirical findings — some of which are alluded to by Wilson — explain why the scientific paradigm is unlikely to prevail in the social "sciences" and the humanities, let alone in our civic value priorities; perhaps in another millennium, and even then it is problematic, but certainly not in the next half century. The scenarios delineated by Huntington (1993), Kaplan (1994), and Francis (1999) appear to offer a better fit empirically with prevailing civic trends.

For Wilson (1968a:59,62,64) himself acknowledges man's genetically influenced powerful needs for supervening group bonding or loyalty, spirituality and possibly a sense of equality. Doesn't this explain the intense ("irrational") and powerful resistance (Pearson, 1993) to conducting or disclosing research that may impugn biologically egalitarian assumptions?

While behavioral or empirical approaches have advanced within certain social sciences (e.g. economics, psychology, political science, economics) and history, the predominance of egalitarian ideology is reflected not only in resistance to or critiques of such "methodology," but also by environmentally deterministic assumptions or constraints in its applications.

Phenomenological, therapeutic and deconstructionist inroads affecting the foregoing areas and permeating literature, the arts, philosophy, religious studies as well as foreign language imply that empirical progress will be modest at best in the new millennium.

What momentum exists will be derived from the relatively unimpeded contributions to scientific and technological advance in other "hard" areas. As

***Miles D. Wolpin** teaches political science at the State University College at Potsdam, New York.*

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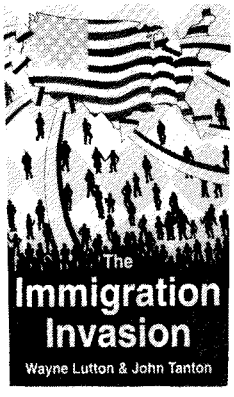

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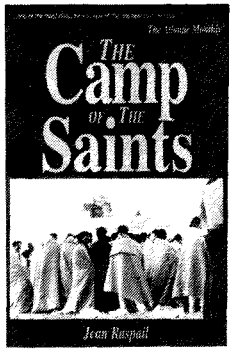

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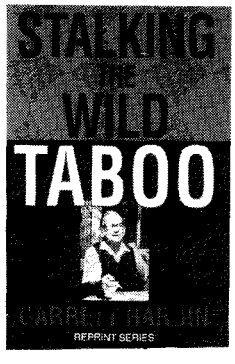

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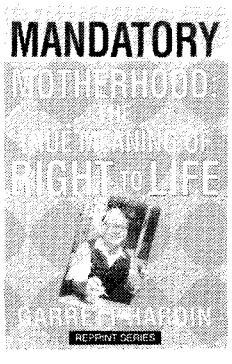

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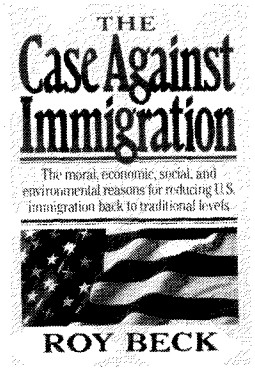
THE
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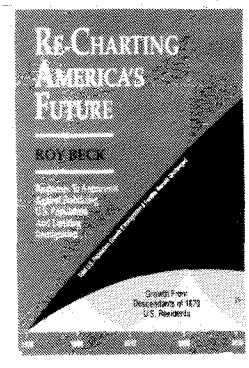
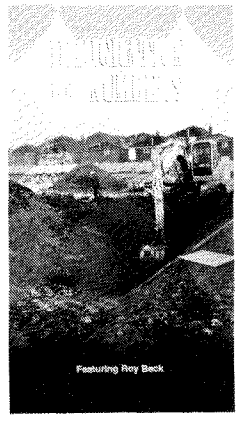
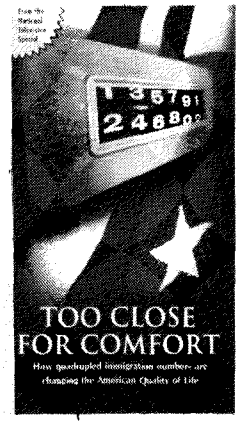
The moral, economic, social, and environmental reasons for reducing U.S. immigration back to traditional levels
ROY BECK







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discoveries in such disciplines as physics, chemistry, astronomy, cybernetics, and particularly medicine indisputably enhance the power of mankind to control nature and cope with problems more cost-effectively, there will be a continuing "spin-off" impetus for biological research. Thus the anomalies (Kuhn 1966) of egalitarian paradigms will multiply and assume greater salience.

Yet tensions may be exacerbated, as will "professional" hostilities, when ideological paradigms and associated moral commitments are impugned. In some respects, even conservative predispositions may be threatened (e.g., "free markets" and the "sanctity of life" or "right to life"). Worse, empirical research on mass intelligence and intellectual competence is hardly a basis for optimism.[3] Following approximately three decades or so of national priority (funding, curricular development, teacher training) for mathematics and natural sciences, the results have been dismal. U.S. students are doing very poorly on international testing, while the "average" citizen exhibits an eighth grade understanding of science.

Ultimately, as Wilson (1998:52) himself suggests, there is the lack of inspiration or appeal by the scientific paradigm itself. Whether deistic or atheistic, this *Weltanschauung* resonates as a dominant orientation among too few of even the narrow intellectual stratum. As he concedes, primal and instinctual theistic spirituality and/or neo-tribal group affinities continue to function, along with occasionally overlapping egalitarian inclinations, as paramount sources of inspiration at all levels of our "modern" social structure.

Among most peoples, and even the elite in the South and East, such tribal and theistic identities tend to be even more determinative. This, along with parallel affinities for structuralist egalitarian ideology appears to be one of the empirical patterns of our era. Similarly, as the immigration invasion from the South reinforces militant multiculturalist movements within the "scientific" Euro-American ethno-cultural area, we can anticipate even more intensified resistance to biological research findings which do not enhance the self-esteem of such strata.

With the partial exception of Japan, the prognosis for both positive and negative eugenic advance (Pearson, 1996) is problematic, as is that for morality (Levin, 1999:1-3) itself. This despite progress (Wilson 1998a:58-65) toward empirical understanding of the latter's evolutionary and neurological origins. Hence, caution and a sense of our limited prospects for improving the human condition would seem to be in order. TSC

NOTES

[1] While the East may no longer be state socialist, much of its cultural heritage was influenced by the Mongols and the Ottoman Empire. Authoritarian and despotic tendencies remain salient in many regions.

[2] This disciplinary dominance persists despite limited inroads by behavioralists or those employing quantitative methods in economics, political science, psychology, sociology and history. Such methodology is *not* invariably incompatible with egalitarian and multiculturalist assumptions or conclusions.

[3] Weissberg (1998:33), for example, refers to a 1987 survey in which: "64 percent of the blacks and 40 percent of the whites conjectured that they would be denied permission to arrange a public meeting to protest the government's wrongful behavior. Even innocuously publishing a pamphlet was perceived as an impermissible activity by 53 percent of black respondents and 28 percent of whites."

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Rewarding Illegal Aliens

President Clinton and many in Congress push for more 'amnesties'

by Roy Beck

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The first four months of the 106th Congress this year began where the 105th Congress ended last fall: trying to decide whether to continue granting permanent residency to hundreds of thousands of foreign citizens with backgrounds as illegal aliens in this country.

The pressure to put more illegal aliens on the road to U.S. citizenship is coming from two major arguments: (1) hurricane relief, and (2) equity with earlier groups who won amnesties.

(1) The Hurricane Argument

The already powerful pro-illegal-alien lobby picked up considerable strength after Hurricane Mitch devastated large parts of Honduras, Nicaragua, and other Central American countries at the end of the year. To protect those countries from having to incorporate deported citizens into their economies, Congress was urged to let the illegal aliens stay here permanently.

Advocates for illegal aliens have argued that deporting them back to help with the re-building of their home countries would constitute an extreme hardship on the illegal aliens. And government officials of Central American countries are urging Washington to allow the illegal aliens to keep their jobs in the United States so they can continue to send remittances to their home countries.

***Roy Beck**, in addition to being Washington Editor of* The Social Contract, *is also director of the website NumbersUSA.com which offers a way to send faxes to Members of Congress about immigration issues and includes separate immigration voting records and co-sponsorship profiles on every Member of Congress.*

(2) The Equity Argument

The 1997 amnesty was aimed only at Nicaraguans and Cubans because they had fled communist rule. Illegal-alien advocates today say those who fled right-wing dictatorships should be accorded the same treatment. That would include Salvadorans and Guatemalans, plus Haitians who were not covered by the 1998 amnesty.

Amnesty critics who opposed the 1997 amnesty are incensed that Congress might issue another amnesty based on an earlier amnesty that itself had no justification. None of the Nicaraguans amnestied in 1997 had been able to show that they had fled a well-founded fear of persecution and deserved refuge. And besides, communist rule and the civil war have been over for years. The same points can be made about those who fled El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti. For example, the 13-year civil war in El Salvador ended in 1992 and free elections were held in 1994. The 36-year civil war in Guatemala ended in 1996 when free elections were held. Even if one wanted to make a case that the illegal aliens from those countries once had a legitimate reason not to be sent home, that reason no longer exists, the amnesty critics say.

Who campaigns for what?

The battle over new amnesties involves essentially the same camps in Congress as during the successful passage of amnesties in 1997 and 1998:

THE PRO-ILLEGAL-ALIEN-AMNESTY CAMP includes an array of congressional Democrats and the minority "Abraham wing" of the congressional Republicans led by Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.) who is the Senate immigration committee chairman.

THE ANTI-ILLEGAL-ALIEN-AMNESTY CAMP includes some congressional Democrats and the majority "Smith wing" of congressional Republicans led by Rep. Lamar Smith (R-Tex.) who is the House immigration chairman.

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APPROVED AND PROPOSED AMNESTIES FOR ILLEGAL ALIENS

Until 1986, the United States had never forgiven large groups of illegal aliens for their having broken U.S. immigration laws, nor had the illegal aliens even been rewarded with the right to live permanently in the U.S.

The supporters of the 1986 amnesty claimed it would be a one-time-only correction. Opponents said it would give masses of citizens of other countries the hope that if they could illegally enter or stay in the United States long enough without being caught, they too could eventually win U.S. citizenship.

That hope has grown much stronger with the emergence of a bi-partisan, pro-illegal-alien leadership coalition in Washington beginning in 1997. This informal coalition of the President, some leaders of both congressional parties and committee chairmen has slipped two amnesties into law without full congressional oversight and voting, and it is attempting a couple more this year.

Amnesty is not a precise legal term. Some govern-ment officials say the 1997 and 1998 actions were not amnesties because the people who benefitted had temporary legal status at the time. But nearly all of them had previously been illegal aliens. The temporary legal status was one of the steps in a "rolling amnesty" that led to the permanent residency. "Amnesty" is used here as a granting of permanent residency to groups of people who previously were illegal aliens and who, without special governmental action, would have been deportable.

Here is the amnesty tally thus far:

Amnesty of 1986

Who: More than 2.8 million of all nationalities but predominantly from Mexico.

Cutoff date: Most had to have been in the U.S. since before Jan. 1, 1982. Agricultural workers only had to have worked 90 days in the U.S. during the 12 months ending May 1, 1986.

How: House and Senate had full debate and recorded votes and linked the amnesty to adopting sanctions on businesses that hire illegal aliens.

Amnesty of 1997

Who: Around 150,000 Nicaraguans and 5,000 Cubans.

Cutoff date: In the U.S. since before Dec. 1, 1995.

How: No specific House vote. Senate vote without debate attached amnesty to appropriations bill.

Amnesty of 1998

Who: Around 50,000 Haitians.

Cutoff date: Those who filed for asylum before Dec. 1, 1995.

How: No specific House or Senate vote. President Clinton, Senate Majority Leader Lott and House Speaker Gingrich put it in the emergency negotiated omnibus appropriations bill.

Temporary Hurricane Amnesty of 1998

Who: Around 90,000 Hondurans and 60,000 Nicaraguans have been allowed to stay in the U.S. for 18 months until mid-2000.

Cutoff date: In U.S. before Jan. 1, 1999.

How: No congressional oversight. President decreed amnesty.

Proposed Presidential Amnesty of 1999

Who: Around 200,000 Salvadorans, 50,000 Guatemalans, and several thousand East Europeans.

Cutoff date: In U.S. since before 1993.

How: President would by-pass Congress entirely and for the first time in history create an amnesty by issuing a blanket declaration that the more than 250,000 would face "extreme hardship" if deported.

Proposed HR36 Amnesty Bill of 1999

Who: Around 600,000 from Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti (includes the 250,000 covered under the proposed presidential amnesty).

Cutoff date: In U.S. since before Dec. 1, 1995.

How: Would need to pass both Senate and House and be signed by the President.

Support: 84 House Members have co-sponsored (a strong show of support).

Under considerable pressure from both camps, President Clinton has extended a "temporary amnesty" to illegal aliens in the worst-hit countries of Honduras and Nicaragua but has denied the same to other countries seeking it. And, as of May, no new permanent amnesty has been put in place.

When the president offered the temporary amnesty, Mark Krikorian, director of the Center for Immigration Studies, predicted to the *Washington Post* on November 14: "There is nothing as permanent as a temporary refugee. [The result of the President's action will be] permanent immigration of large numbers of people and the creation or expansion of immigrant networks will foster more future immigration."

Central American advocacy groups confirmed to the *Post* that they use temporary protections as part of their strategy to gain permanent residency for the people who start as illegal aliens.

Most of the hundreds of thousands of Central Americans who would be affected by current amnesty proposals were illegally in the United States for some period of time, says demographic research consultant Ed Lytwak. But presidents, attorneys general, and the congress through the years have engaged in a number of administrative actions that have changed illegal

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aliens into foreign citizens with temporary legal status in the United States. The aliens have been protected under EVD (extended voluntary departure), PRUCOL (persons residing under the color of law), DED (deferred enforced departure), and TPS (temporary protected status). Illegal-alien advocacy groups push for these measures under humanitarian considerations. Then when the humanitarian reason for temporary status is gone, the groups argue that the aliens have been in the U.S. for so long that they have sunk roots and it would be extreme hardship for them to have to uproot their families and go back to their home countries.

Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.) slammed Rep. Smith in March for calling the Salvadorans and Guatemalans "illegal aliens" and saying they should go home. Diaz-Balart said these people "have lived in the United States with temporary legal status for at least eight years, worked hard, paid taxes, built strong families, bought homes and opened businesses."

Wrong signals started stampede toward border

This year began with a rush of optimism among the pro-amnesty forces. A new HR36 bill to give amnesty to around 600,000 Central American illegal aliens quickly gained 84 co-sponsors, including House Minority Leader David Bonior. The minority Abraham-wing of Republicans indicated support, as did the President.

There also were high hopes among the illegal-alien advocates that Mr. Clinton would renew a temporary hurricane amnesty for the Salvadorans and Guatemalans when it was scheduled to end in March.

And on a trip to El Salvador, INS Commissioner Doris Meissner said the President would be fighting to put Salvadoran and Guatemalan illegal aliens on the road to U.S. citizenship. At the same time, the news media reported that Border Patrol agents had been ordered to release into the U.S. population any illegal aliens from Honduras they caught at the border.

By early February, major newspapers were reporting a small army of Central Americans walking and hitch-hiking their way toward the U.S. border. They were widely reported to be under the impression that the Clinton administration was inviting them to move to the United States without any need of immigration papers.

On February 11, Rep. Smith held a press conference to challenge the Clinton administration to "take all necessary steps to avert an immigration crisis that has the potential to exceed the Mariel boatlift in magnitude." He called for immediate communication to all of Central America that the U.S. would arrest and deport illegal aliens caught at the border.

With immigration reduction groups whipping up grassroots opposition to the new amnesty proposals and with the majority Smith-wing of congressional Republicans asserting itself, Clinton began pressing for a way to create an amnesty without congressional approval.

"...Clinton began pressing for a way to create an amnesty without congressional approval."

But Smith held another press conference to expose the White House plans to force the INS to issue a blanket amnesty to some 250,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans. The planned process was one that had never been used. "Stop before you break the law," Smith said in a quote published around the country.

President Clinton said one of the reasons he was pursuing the unique amnesty was because he had been asked to do so by three Republican senators, Abraham, Connie Mack of Florida, and Utah's Orin Hatch, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Rep. Smith quickly gathered a few pages of House Republican signatures to send to the President to show what the majority Republican wing thought about the amnesty plans.

The President left for his post-hurricane tour of Central American countries in early March amid speculation that he might announce his presidential amnesty as a form of hurricane aid while there. But his State Department was providing him warnings about enticing an uncontrolled migration from Central America.

During his Central American visit, he announced that he would like to grant an amnesty for illegal

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aliens already in the United States for several years. He said he would work toward such an amnesty. But he didn't — and still hasn't — actually ordered the amnesty.

More significantly, Clinton announced a hard line on recent illegal aliens and on Central Americans who were contemplating illegal entry. He allowed the temporary hurricane amnesty for Salvadorans and Guatemalans to end. In the face of angry Central American leaders, he ordered a renewal of deportations of recent illegal aliens. With statements like "we must continue to discourage illegal immigration" and "we must enforce our laws," Mr. Clinton sent strong signals that appeared to have the effect of slowing the new illegal alien flow in March.

But with new amnesties still being promoted in April, the threat of massive new illegal immigration was revived. A U.S. Information Agency survey found that around 600,000 Central Americans were planning to start soon on a journey to the United States to join approximately 200,000 who already had become illegal aliens in recent months.

"An exodus from Central America of this magnitude rivals the crisis in Europe triggered by the ethnic cleansing campaign in Kosovo," warned Dan Stein of FAIR (The Federation for American Immigration Reform). "This is proof once again that the only kind of disaster assistance that achieves its goals is the kind that helps people rebuild in their country." TSC

So Much For Promises

Selected quotes from Congressional sponsors of the 1965 immigration act

Assembled by Joseph E. Fallon

Since the 1965 Immigration Act went into effect, more than 30 million immigrants, most from non-European, Third World countries, have poured into the United States. Today, most of U.S. population growth is due to these immigrants, and their offspring. These results contradict promises made to American citizens by the Act's Congressional Sponsors, as revealed in their own words:

***Joseph E. Fallon**, a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract, *is a published author and researcher on the topics of immigration and American demography. He can be reached at* jefallon@yahoo.com

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA)

"Out of deference to the critics, I want to comment on … what the bill will not do. First, our cities will not be flooded with a million immigrants annually. Under the proposed bill, the present level of immigration remains substantially the same … Secondly, the ethnic mix of this country will not be upset … Contrary to the charges in some quarters, S.500 will not inundate America with immigrants from any one country or area, or the most populated and economically deprived nations of Africa and Asia. In the final analysis, the ethnic pattern of immigration under the proposed measure is not expected to change as sharply as the critics seem to think. Thirdly, the bill will not permit the entry of subversive persons, criminals, illiterates, or those with contagious disease or serious mental illness … As I noted a moment ago, no immigrant visa will be issued to a person who is likely to become a public charge … The charges I have mentioned are highly emotional, irrational, and with little foundation in fact. They are out of line with the obligations of responsible citizenship. They breed hate of our heritage."
(Senate Part 1, Book 1, pp. 1-3)

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Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-NY)

"In fact, the distribution of limited quota immigration can have no significant effect on the ethnic balance of the United States." ... "Total quota immigration is now 156,782; under the proposed bill, it would rise to 164,482. Even if all these immigrants came from Italy, for example, the net effect would be to increase the number of Italo-Americans by one-tenth of 1 percent of our population this year, and less as our population increases. Americans of Italian extraction now constitute about 4 percent of our population; at this rate, considering our own natural increase, it would take until the year 2000 to increase that proportion to 6 percent. Of course, S.500 would make no such radical change. Immigration from any single country would be limited to 10 percent of the total — 16,500 — with the possible exception of the two countries now sending more than that number, Great Britain and Germany. But the extreme case should set to rest any fears that this bill will change the ethnic, political, or economic makeup of the United States. ...[w]e bar immigration by those individuals who would compete for jobs for which the supply of labor is adequate for the demand ... we bar immigration by individuals who have demonstrated that they do not hold such allegiance [to our fundamental precepts of political freedom an democratic government]. ...If it is true that those from northern Europe, as individuals, can make greater contributions to this country than can others, then this legislation will bring them here. If the legislation does not bring them here, then the assumptions on which defenders of the present system rely are wholly false. ... [S.500] will facilitate the entry of skilled specialists. ... the level of immigration now proposed is far less than that thought 'assimilable' by the most restrictionist Congress [1924] in our history. ... As far as the quota system, it [S.500] increases it about 9,000 and as far as a practical matter, it increases it about 50,000. It is not a large number." (*Senate Part 1, Book 2, pp.216-218, 226, 242*)

Senator Philip Hart (D-MI)

"...the notion was created that somehow or another, 190 million [the population of the U.S. in 1965] is going to be swallowed up. None of us would want that, this bill does not seek to do it and the bill could not do it." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, p.29*)

Senator Hiram Fong (D-HI)

"... the people who have built up America, Anglo-Saxons, and the northern peoples of Europe, are not discriminated against in this bill. ...the people from that part of the world [the Asia-Pacific Triangle] probably will never reach 1 percent of the [U.S.] population. ... Our cultural pattern will never be changed as far as America is concerned. ... It will become more cosmopolitan but still there is that fundamental adherence to European culture. ... We feel those people [from northern Europe] who have been preferred in former immigration bills would still be treated fairly. ... one of the reasons why the United States was attacked, on December 7,1941, was because of these exclusionary laws [the 1924 Immigration Act] which had fomented so much bad feeling between the peoples of Japan and the United States." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, pp.72, 119, 120, 144*)

Senator Hugh Scott (R-PA)

"I do not think it [S.500] amounts to a serious increase in the number of persons admitted ... I have read the statements of the Malthusian pessimists, and they may be right, of course, but I doubt if this bill will reaily be the cause of crowding the present

President Lyndon B. Johnson

October 3, 1965, at the foot of the Statue of Liberty signing H.R. 2580 into law (Public Law 89-236)

"...this is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not reshape the structure of our daily lives..."

(Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965 Volume XXI, p.479, Congressional Quarterly Service, Inc.

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Americans out of the 50 states ... I do not believe an increase of 66,000 opens the door wide." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, p.136*)

Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach
"This bill is not designed to increase or accelerate the number of newcomers permitted to come to America ... this bill would retain all the present security and health safeguards of the present law. ... the overall effect of this bill on employment would, first of all, be negligible, and second, that such effect as might be felt would not be harmful, but beneficial. The actual net increase in total immigration under this bill would be about 60,000. Those immigrants who seek employment is estimated at a maximum of 24,000. Our present labor force, however, is 77 million. Statistically or practically, we are talking about an infinitesimal amount; 24,000 is about three one-hundredths of 1 percent of 77 million ... a good part of even these 24,000 additional workers would not even be competitors for jobs held or needed by Americans. ... I would expect very little change ... in the immigration from the Western Hemisphere." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, pp.8, 13-14, 31*)

"This bill is not designed to increase or accelerate the number of newcomers permitted to come to America...the overall effect on employment would be negligible"
— Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach

Secretary of State Dean Rusk
" ... the maximum allotment of numbers in any one fiscal year could not exceed the sum of all immigration quotas in effect on the date of enactment of the bill, roughly 166,000. ... Immigration now comes in limited volume and includes a relatively high proportion of older people and persons of high skill and training. The significance of immigration for the United States now depends less on the number than on the quality of the immigrants ... Under present circumstances our country has a rare opportunity to draw migrants of high intelligence and ability from abroad ... I think the average immigration from the Western Hemisphere over the past 5 years has been about 125,000 a year. We do not anticipate a large increase in those non-quota applications ... The opportunities here in the United States, the opportunities which attract immigration, are the more sophisticated opportunities, for the educated, for the trained, for the industrial worker, for the technician, for those who can enter into a more sophisticated part in our life than they could if they came in without skills and without any training ..." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, pp. 48, 50, 52*)

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz
"[S.500] would promote the admission of individuals with qualifications and occupations needed in the United States ... withou
t disturbing the domestic employment situation." (*Senate Part 1, Book 1, p. 84*)

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Cerebrezze
"With the exception of the provisions relating to epilepsy and certain mental conditions ... this legislation does not alter the qualitative standards for immigration which prevent the entry of those whom we can, in justice and in logic, exclude. It preserves our national security and our domestic welfare; it continues to exclude subversives; it retains the provisions of existing law which makes aliens who become public charges deportable." (*Senate Part 12, Book 2, p. 334*)

Senator Claiborne Pell (R-RI)
"[S.500] sets the limit of how many people we think are desirable to keep the mix ... I may be wrong. Maybe there will be a huge surge from India or a huge surge from Africa, but I would tend to doubt it." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, pp. 561,563*)

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Senator Harrison A. Williams (D-NJ)
" ... S.500 does not open the gates to all aliens applying for immigration. ... Any bar to true assimilation is ours, not theirs [the immigrants]. It is how we welcome to our country, not how much they [the immigrants] want to be welcomed." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, pp. 567, 569*)

Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (D-CA)
"Under the proposed bill, the total number of immigrants remains approximately the same..." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, p. 576*)

Senator E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (D-AK)
"The bill does not seek to increase to any great extent the annual number of new immigrants we admit." (Senate Part *2, Book 3, p. 851*)

Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-HI)
"... while the national origins rule will be eliminated in establishing quotas for foreign countries, this does not mean that the bill would permit a flood tide of new immigrants into this country. As a matter of fact, the total number of potential immigrants would not be changed very much." (*Senate Part 2, Book 3, p. 853*)

Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-MN)
"The proposed legislation would not greatly increase the number of immigrants ..." (*Senate Part 2, Book 3, 854*)

"In a little more than 50 years, there will be no majority race in the United States."
— President Clinton
June 1998

Senator Pat McNamara (D-MI)
"Total quota numbers available will be only slightly increased." (*Senate Part 2, Book 3, p. 855*)

Senator Frank E. Moss (D-UT)
"I emphasize that this bill would not attempt to make any drastic changed in our overall immigration numbers." (*Senate Part 2, Book 3, p. 856*)

Senator William Proxmire (D-WI)
"S.500 does not let down the bars completely ... It would not substantially increase the total number of immigrants to be admitted to the United States. It would not reduce the security safeguards for keeping out political undesirable. It would not diminish the requirements designed to keep out persons likely to become public charges." (*Senate Part 2, Book 3, p. 857*)

Nicholas S. Limperis, National Chairman, AHEP
[Greek-American organization]
Immigration Legislative Committee
"This bill emphasizes not primarily increased immigration but equality of opportunity for all people to reach this promised land." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, p. 381*)

Joseph A. L. Errigo, acting chairman Sons of Italy National Committee
"S.500 ... does not repeal the McCarran-Walter Act [immigration act of 1952]. It merely amends it. The overall picture outside of the amendment provided by S.500 will remain more or less the same." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, p. 416*)

Mike M. Masaoka, Washington representative, Japanese American Citizens League
"... the 1924 exclusion act against just the Japanese ... contributed to the downfall of the democratic liberal elements in Japan and allowed the militarists, the jingoists, the imperialists to take over and lead Japan on the dreadful path of World War II. ... none of us should take for granted that S.500 is the ultimate in immigration law ... let us recognize ... even this law ... cannot wipe out the widespread favoritism for Europeans, which has existed in our law." (*Senate Part 2, Book 2, pp. 628, 629*)
"Let's make no mistake about this. This legislation is in the national interests of the United States and not necessarily for other countries ..." (*HR Book 1, p. 222*)

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Jack Wong Sing, Director, West Coast District, National Chinese Welfare Council
"Let it not be said that Chinese immigration would be opened. Under the pending proposals, any increase in volume of immigration of the Chinese would still be limited ..." *(Senate Part 2, Book 2, p. 727)*

James B. Carey, President International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (IUE) and Secy-Treas. of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.
"... S.500 will do little or nothing to add to unemployment. We estimate that by the fifth year of operation ... only about 24,000 quota immigrants will have joined the labor force each year. At that time, we will have a labor force of 86 million. The newcomers will constitute three-thousandths of 1 percent of that group of workers ... we can expect that a good number of these immigrants will bring badly needed skills to this country." (*Senate Part 2, Book 1, p. 470*)

Secretary of State Dean Rusk
"This bill [HR 2580] itself draws some distinctions in favor of, gives preferences to certain types of people in terms of talent and training... It is not one which others have objected to. We haven't had any indication of disagreement on that from abroad, from any government, certainly... We are dealing here with a level of immigration that is fully within our ability to absorb, and our needs as a Nation to receive. ... we do not get the impression that 3 billion people are all at the starting line, waiting to take off to come to this country, juste as soon as the bill is passed." (*HR Book 1, pp. 97, 105, 105*)

Representative Spark M. Matsunaga (D-HI)
"The administration bill is a revolutionary one, but it is not as revolutionary as some have claimed or believe it to be. It would change the basis for allotting immigrant visas but it does not provide for an over-whelming increase in immigration as some people seem to fear. It provides for a quota increase of less than 8,000. Actual immigration, counting non-quota and quota immigrants, would be increased around 50,000 or roughly 17 percent over current average annual immigration of around 300,000. This is certainly not a throwing open of the floodgates." (*HR Book 1, p. 200*)

Representative Richard S. Schweiker (R-PA)
"The administration bill favors nations of Latin America and North America. It favors nations of northern Europe." (*HR Book 1, p. 204*)

Representative John D. Dingell (D-MI)
"The new bill makes no change whatsoever in the safeguards of our present immigration laws which prohibit the admission of Communists, other subversives, security risks, narcotic addicts, and persons with criminal record. It provides controls to protect our domestic labor market." (*HR Book 2, p.407.*)

Representative Richard L. Ottinger (D-NY)
"This bill emphasizes needed skills whereas existing legislation virtually ignores them." (*HR Book 2, p. 417*)

Representative Patsy T. Mink (D-HI)
" ... this bill is but a step in the right direction. It is estimated that in the total 5-year period 679,663 of the 828,805 persons entering the United States will come from Europe ..." (*HR Book 2, p. 420*)

TSC

SOURCES

Of Senate quotes: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session, on S.500 "To Amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act, and For Other Purposes." Part 1: February/March; Part 2: March/June/July/August 1965 Congressional Information Service, Inc.
Of House of Representative (HR) quotes: Hearing Before Subcommittee No. 1, Committee of the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session on H.R. 2580 "To Amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act and For Other Purposes," March/ April/ May/ June 1965. Congressional Information Service, Inc.

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Immigration Laws Effectively Repealed

New INS rules make legislation useless

by Samuel Francis

After trotting off to Guatemala to apologize for fighting communism, President Clinton wrapped up his latest adventure in statecraft by agreeing with Latin American leaders to deal with illegal immigration through "humane and permanent solutions." Still, that wasn't enough for the much aggrieved Latinos, who are able to express their views at all only because the United States made sure communists never con-quered them.

Even as the president was agreeing to be "humane" about Central American citizens fleeing their own countries to enter ours illegally, El Salvador's president whined that we don't treat Salvadoran illegals the same as Cubans and Nicaraguans. That's because the United States is getting ready to dispatch back to El Salvador about a thousand illegals who fled Hurricane Mitch. You'd think the president of a nation would want his own fellow countrymen to come home, but then you've probably never been to Central America.

Instead, Central America has pretty much come to us. Through immigration, legal and illegal, some 30 million people have arrived in this country since 1970, a figure equivalent to the entire current population of Central America, which is where quite a few of the immigrants did come from. Just as Mr. Clinton was agreeing to be more "humane" in solving the immigration problem, the Immigration and Naturalization Service announced that it has virtually surrendered.

The INS used to enforce the nation's immigration laws by actually rounding up and sending back immigrants who entered the country illegally. Now, in what it calls a "major shift" in enforcement policy, the service is planning to abandon doing so.

In place of its traditional policy, the service will simply concentrate on catching illegals involved in crime, cracking down on immigrant smugglers, attacking benefit fraud among immigrants and other forms of law enforcement. It will no longer seek to remove illegals as long as the aliens haven't committed a crime that brings them to the service's attention. Maybe that sounds swell, but there are a couple of things wrong with it.

In the first place, it turns the INS into a kind of junior FBI, focused on federal crimes that concern immigration but not explicitly trying to protect the borders of the nation. That might be OK if some other agency protected the borders. In fact, nobody does.

The other problem is that, as former INS official Jack Straw says, "it is amnesty by another name." Essentially what the new policy says is that if you can make it across the border, legally or illegally, there's no one in the U.S. government who will try to catch you and send you back. The new policy is not just amnesty; in many ways it's an effective repeal of our laws against immigration.

It repeals immigration laws because the fact is that just about anyone can get across the border these days. Hence, if Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, Mexicans or anyone else wants to come here, all they have to do is get as far as the southern border. Getting there is undoubtedly a lot more difficult than getting across the border, and once they're across, they no longer have to

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***Samuel Francis** is a syndicated columnist.* *This article is reprinted by permission of Creators Syndicate, © 1999.*

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worry about being sent back.

"Among those who can breathe easier because of the new strategy," *The Washington Post* gloated in reporting the new policy, "are thousands of Central Americans, many from El Salvador, who have migrated to the Washington area in recent years." The migrants can indeed breathe easier; its the Americans who have to pay the costs of illegal immigration who will find their breathing more difficult.

Those costs are partly criminal (the INS estimates that two-thirds of the foreign-born jail and prison inmates in this country are illegal aliens) but also economic, as illegals burrow into the welfare system and as others push out of low-skill jobs the country's current underclass. Illegals are also pushing out of their jobs skilled middle class workers in meat packing and poultry processing plants in the South and Midwest.

For years, the mantra among Republicans has been that they're for legal immigration but against illegal immigration. The slogan made little sense (if you're against illegal immigration just because it's illegal, why not repeal the laws?) But now it's clear that it wasn't even true. Republicans, except for a few like Lamar Smith of Texas, aren't even opposed to illegal immigration.

Republicans have spent much of the last few years complaining about Bill Clinton's law breaking, but they can spend no time to make sure the laws protecting the borders of their own country are enforced. As for Mr. Clinton, he may sign agreements with Central Americans promising to be more "humane" toward immigrants who break our laws, but it's under his administration that the laws against immigration have effectively been gutted. TSC

End Birthright Citizenship

It could be done with a simple vote by Congress

by Tom Andres

In January, Rep. Brian Bilbray (R-CA) introduced the Citizenship Reform Act of 1999 (HR 73 IH) "to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to deny citizenship at birth to children born in the United States of parents who are not citizens or permanent resident aliens." Representative Mark Foley (R-FL) is proposing a constitutional amendment (HJ RES 10) to accomplish the same thing. These efforts should have our support because granting birthright citizenship to the children of illegal aliens is misguided and just plain wrong.

This automatic citizenship "right" is said to come from the Fourteenth Amendment's (1868) granting of citizenship to people "subject to the jurisdiction of the United States," which was intended strictly for former slaves. The "jurisdiction" language itself came from Senator Lyman Trumbull who authored some of the first legislation enfranchising freed slaves.

So it is hard to imagine how this amendment commands that citizenship be awarded to the children of illegal aliens. Even if we just look at the words, how can it be said that families who are defying the "jurisdiction" of the United States are also "subject to" it. If they are, well then, why are they here?

Birthright citizenship broadcasts a message that the United States is just not serious about enforcing its own immigration laws, a message further amplified by other government activities.

No doubt there exist some dedicated public servants struggling under conflicting and dubious political and judicial guidelines, but what a spectacle. Glance at any newspaper on any given day and you will see articles on "Stepped up border enforcement," or for this or that reasons, "Illegals freed," or "More aggressive employer raids," or "Employers given advance notice of raids," or "New toughness," or "Extended stays," until the whole enterprise starts

***Tom Andres** is a free lance writer, frequently on environmental topics, living in Santa Barbara, CA.*

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looking as if it lacks only one big tent, two pachyderms and a brightly colored train before it can begin touring from town to town.

Birthright citizenship circumvents our overall immigration policy, assuming we have one. It also assumes our policy-makers sometimes consider the impact of overall immigration numbers, including descendants, over time.

Each "anchor baby," as one expert points out, can then become "a demographic time bomb," since at age twenty-one he or she can petition for the admission of parents, siblings, spouses, spouses of siblings, children of siblings — forever chaining on and on down the line. This under-the-table immigration is occurring as others, who have had the tough luck of not having been born to illegals, wait for years to be admitted through standard channels.

Of course, when these subjects are brought up the Compassion Police immediately jump into their verbal squad cars and rush to the scene of argument. But a policy that refrains from bestowing citizenship on the children of illegals would no more be "blaming" or "punishing" innocent children than an airline would be blaming or punishing the children of hijackers by not awarding them Frequent Flier mileage for unscheduled flights to Havana.

What sort of compassionate nation says, "While you must not come here illegally, if you do somehow manage to sneak over the border, avoid arrest, survive stumbling across the desert a few days, snag some slave-wage job hidden in the shadows of our society, and then have a baby — Bingo!"?

Immigration scholars say that there are also significant numbers of illegals who have no intention of becoming U.S. citizens. Apparently in those cases "compassion" takes the form of birthright law swooping into maternity wards and netting newborns into citizenship captivity.

American citizenship was once highly prized. How low it has fallen in the eyes of our political leaders who now want to scatter it as widely as possible like cheap trinkets thrown to a crowd along a parade route.

This "child-citizen loophole" — estimated to add up to at least an extra million citizens — is yet another example of America trumpeting to the world that there really are no population limits to any nation's environmental carrying capacity. Hence the unofficial U.S. motto: "Nature — Schmature — Let's Grow."

We are a mystery. It is doubtful that there has ever been a society so determined to rapidly overpopulate and deconstruct itself. But one significant step we can take in the opposite direction is to change this misguided policy of granting birthright citizenship to the children of parents who are, after all, citizens of other nations and who have decided to live in the United States illegally.

TSC

More On Kosovo

With five official nationalities, 12 ethnic minorities, and three major religions Yugoslavia was the most heterogeneous country in Europe and population competition and competitive breeding were well launched before the series of civil wars erupted and it broke up. The deep and longstanding rivalries between Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and other ethnic groups no doubt fostered this type of competition and were in turn exacerbated by the great differences in birth and growth-rates.

This seemed to be operating especially powerfully in the province of Kosovo in the south (neighboring Albania) where the population of ethnic Albanians is expanding rapidly because of their substantially greater birthrate. In 1989 the total fertility rate there was 4.12 (compared with 1.74 in Croatia) giving an annual growth rate of 2.4% and a doubling time of only 29 years. Besides its very much higher birthrate, the induced abortion rate in the latter province was only one-eleventh of that in Serbia. The ethnic Albanians demanded more power in accordance with their numbers, and Serbian repression and street violence were becoming increasingly common and severe even before civil war broke out.

— Jack Parsons, *Human Population Competition*
Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, p.281

(See an ad for the book inside this journal's back cover.)

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America's New Not-melting Pot

Native-born Americans are leaving impacted cities

by Laurent Belsie

A stroll along Devon Avenue, a commercial artery on Chicago's north side, is like taking a culinary tour of the world. Restaurants cater to almost any taste — from borscht to baklava. There is tandoori chicken for Pakistanis, falafel on Israeli menus, and blini for Russian devotees. The street is a striking example of the American melting pot.

But a drive northwest of Las Vegas tells a different story. Five years ago, there were 1,000 homes in the area. Today, there are 57,000. The influx is transforming the salmon sands of the desert into a middle-class development — overwhelmingly white.

Welcome to America's new demographic magnets with strange two-way powers. A handful of urban centers are drawing record numbers of immigrants. But they're also pushing away native residents to other regions of the country that are older, more middle class and far less diverse. Some demographers warn that this new divide will make it harder for the U.S. to assimilate its latest wave of immigrants.

> Although it exists, fear of immigrants isn't firing the new regionalism. It's the promise of better jobs, lower living costs, and less congestion in such places as Phoenix and Denver.

The political and economic implications are enormous. The last time so many new-comers piled onto U.S. shores, nearly a century ago, native-born citizens and immigrants lived in different neighborhoods, but rubbed shoulders on the way to work. No longer. If current trends continue, they'll have to wave from airplane windows.

By 2025, according to one estimate, 12 states could have populations less than 60 percent white, while another 12 would have white populations in excess of 85 percent. "The U.S. is not becoming a single melting pot the way we thought of it at the turn of the century," says William Frey, senior fellow at the Milken Institute, a think tank in Santa Monica, Calif. Instead, it's stirring multiple melting pots in a few large metropolises, while much of the rest of the country diversified much less slowly or not at all.

The great divide cuts across traditional boundaries and draws new ones. Suburbs are starting to look more like cities. So many immigrants are flooding some areas that they could change the definition of what it means to be an American.

"The notion is that those [immigrants] get assimilated into the American mainstream," says William Clark, a Los Angeles geographer. But "if you've got 4 [million] to 5 million Hispanics in L.A. County, assimilation to what?... What's the American mainstream?"

In some places, it's hard to tell. Consider: A record 26 million immigrants already live in the U.S. and some 800,000 to 900,000 newcomers arrive legally each year (another 400,000 come illegally). That's nearly 10 percent of the

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***Laurent Belsie** is a staff writer with* The Christian Science Monitor. *The chart is by **Jewel Becker Simmons**.* *© 1999, this article is reprinted with permission from the March 5, 1999 edition.*

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population, not quite as high as the early 1900s but double the percentage of 1970.

Typically, the newcomers are younger, poorer, and less well-educated than the native-born population (although a liberal sprinkling are more highly educated). They're also much more likely to have children.

The influx of immigrants plus the children they bear has accounted for nearly 60 percent of the nation's population growth since 1990. That's a sharp break from the early part of the century when fertility rates among native-born Americans were also high.

Moreover, today's immigrants are more concentrated than ever, says Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, a Washington think tank. The top four gateway states — California, New York, Florida and Texas — have a 20 percent greater share of the nation's immigrant population than the top four states did in past years. Some two-thirds of those who arrived in the U.S. between 1985 and 1997 settled in just 10 metropolitan areas, says Mr. Frey.

While new Americans are flowing to these gateway metropolises, native-born Americans are fleeing. Eight of the 10 largest magnet cities for the foreign-born lost native-born populations. And the leave-takers aren't moving to the suburbs; they're leaving the region entirely.

Although it exists, fear of immigrants isn't firing the new regionalism. It's the promise of better jobs, lower living costs, and less congestion in places such as Phoenix and Denver. These places are usually also less ethnically diverse and more middle class.

Take Las Vegas, the No. 2 destination for native-born Americans. "They drive in with little or no connection to Las Vegas, open the newspaper and find six pages of jobs for skilled or unskilled workers," says Joseph Dias, a sociologist at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

But it's not just white flight, says Mr. Krikorian. "Some of it is black flight." African-Americans are moving back to the Southeast and to Texas. Atlanta, the No. 1 destination for non-immigrants, saw the largest increase of blacks — and whites — of all metropolitan areas between 1990 and 1997.

Immigrants are also breaking the mold. Whereas previous waves settled the inner city, many of today's newcomers bypass it for the job-rich suburbs. In Los Angeles, many Asians head directly to the San Gabriel Valley. In Chicago, most Indian immigrants choose the suburbs over the city because a majority are higher-educated professionals and can afford to buy homes,

Who's Moving Where

Most U.S. cities that have attracted waves of new immigrants during the 1990s are losing native-born Americans who are moving to less-congested, lower-cost cities.

TOP 5 CITIES THAT ATTRACT IMMIGRANTS	IMMIGRATION	DOMESTIC MIGRATION
New York	+ 1,045,347	- 1,551,591
Los Angeles	+ 990,981	- 1,425,464
San Francisco	+ 342,206	- 303,576
Chicago	+ 251,582	- 403,896
Miami	+ 212,515	- 37,802
TOP 5 CITIES THAT ATTRACT US-BORN CITIZENS	**IMMIGRATION**	**DOMESTIC MIGRATION**
Atlanta	+ 53,284	+ 371,061
Las Vegas	+ 22,027	+ 307,585
Phoenix	+ 48,214	+ 294,024
Portland, OR	+ 37,437	+ 177,851
Denver	+ 35,604	+ 157,069

Source: William Frey analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data, 1990-1997.

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says Rob Paral, a Chicago research consultant on immigration issues.

As a result, the suburbs of the melting pots are beginning to look a lot more like their central cities rather than the rest of America. For its own special reasons, Los Angeles looks like the prototype.

"We don't have a city-versus-suburb distinction," says Dowell Myers, professor of urban planning and demography at the University of Southern California. "It goes back to the original geography. [Unlike Eastern cities], Los Angeles didn't grow up around a port, a railhead, or a river. It grew up on a flat plain, a series of dispersed settlements from the beginning"

So many immigrants are going to California they're diversifying almost the entire state. More than one-quarter of California's population is foreign-born. Ten of its cities are so diverse that no ethnic group makes up a majority. Demographers now talk of the "Latinization" of rural California.

To be sure, other parts of the country are also diversifying. Meat-packing plants in Iowa and chicken farms in Georgia are attracting an influx of immigrants to some rural communities. "There is more diversity in more places than we expect," says Larry Long, a demographer at the U.S. Census Bureau. But in wide swaths of the Midwest and Southeast, diversification is happening much more slowly, if at all, Frey argues The glacial pace of change in these regions will widen the great divide and carries with it enormous political and economic implications

"More than one-quarter of California's population is foreign-born. Ten of its cities are so diverse that no ethnic group makes up a majority. Demographers now talk of the 'Latinization' of rural California."

"Both parties will have to deal with it," Frey says. "You have a lot of socially liberal folks who used to live in the suburbs of New York City or L.A., who are moving to Middle Atlanta states."

In the melting-pot cities, meanwhile, African-Americans may have to share some of their newfound political power as other ethnic minorities grow. "As groups get more diverse, it becomes less of an issue of 'us versus them' and more a matter of building coalitions," says Phil Nyden, director of the Center for Urban Research at Loyola University in Chicago.

Economically, immigrants are helping companies fill low-paying jobs. But they also help hold down wage rates and work jobs that offer little future. "Certainly working as a maid in a hotel doesn't have the same kind of pay and long-term prospects as working in the steel mill 30 or 40 years ago," Mr. Nyden says.

The influx also strains municipal budgets. Because most immigrants are poor, they require more city services and are less able to pay for them through taxes. Their children need to be taught English in the schools, draining more resources.

There's little consensus whether the rise in immigration helps or hurts America. "On the one hand, immigrants are assimilating into American society more rapidly than they did in the past," says Krikorian, a critic of the rapid influx of newcomers. "On the other hand, American society itself has changed fundamentally. ...We are importing people and teaching them that these are the various castes and tribes that they need to belong to, and we're going to subsidize that difference and celebrate that difference and reject the notion of a common identity."

Demographer Reynolds Farley is more optimistic. Just as past waves of foreigners worked and succeeded in the U.S., "it's hard to imagine that that process will not repeat itself," says Mr. Farley, who works at the Russell Sage Foundation, a social-science research organization in New York. "There's an immigration momentum that's going to continue."

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Economic Optimism vs Environmental Protection

A practicing ecologist responds to an op-ed piece

'Population Bomb' was a Dud

by Walter E. Williams

Multibillionaire Ted Turner, Jane Fonda's husband, told last week's 27th annual meeting of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association (NFPRHA): "We have to defeat those congressmen and senators who are standing in the way of progress. We've got to win the next election."

Mr. Turner, founder of CNN and vice-chairman of Time-Warner Inc., was sounding the alarm that something must be done about overpopulation. This father of five said we could achieve the "ideal" world population of 2 billion people, as oppose to today's 6 billion, "if everybody adopted a one-child policy for 100 years."

How did Mr. Turner arrive at the ideal population? He learned it from his mentor, professor Paul Ehrlich, author of the 1968 best-seller, *The Population Bomb.*

In that book, Mr. Ehrlich predicted major food shortages in the United States, and by "the 1970s … hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death." Mr. Ehrlich forecasted the starvation of 65 million Americans between 1980 and 1989, and by 1999 the U.S. population would have declined to 22.6 million. He saw England in a more desperate situation, saying, "If I were a gambler, I would take even money that England will not exist in the year 2000."

Idiots like Mr. Ehrlich and organizations such as Planned Parenthood, the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID) and NFPRHA constantly sound nonsense warnings about how overpopulation produces disaster and poverty. There is absolutely no relationship between high populations, disaster and poverty.

Population control idiots might consider Zaire's meager population density of 39 people per square mile to be ideal while Hong Kong's population density of 247,501 people per square mile is problematic. Hong Kong is 6,000 times more crowded than Zaire. Yet Hong Kong's per capita income is $8,260 while Zaire, the world's poorest country, has a per capita income of less than $200.

Planet Earth is loaded with room. We could put the world's entire population into the United States. Doing so would make our population density 1,531 people per square mile. That's a far lower population density than what now exists in New York (11,440), Los Angeles (9,126) and Houston (7,512). The entire U.S. population could move to Texas and each family of four would enjoy 2.9 acres of land. If the entire world's population moved to Texas, Colorado and Alaska, each family of four would enjoy nine-tenths of an acre of land.

So-called overpopulation problems are really a result of socialistic government practices that reduce the capacity of people to educate, clothe, house and feed themselves. Poor countries are

"There is absolutely no relationship between high populations, disaster and poverty."

***Walter E. Williams** is a professor of economics at George Mason University, Fairfax, Va.* *This article ©1999 is reprinted by permission of Creators Syndicate.*

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rife with agricultural restrictions, export and import controls, restrictive licensing and price controls, not to mention gross human rights abuses that encourage their most productive people to emigrate. The most promising anti-poverty tool for poor people and poor countries is personal liberty.

But let's get back to the population control gang and ask: suppose the rest of us don't feel like adopting a one-child policy, then what? The elite's answer will be to use brute government force, like China does, to impose a one-child policy. You say: "Williams, what would make you say that?" Just ask, who are the heroes of America's liberals, including Ted Turner's wife, Jane Fonda? They are some of history's most despicable, bloodthirsty tyrants, like Mao Zedong (sic), Lenin, Stalin and Castro.

Don't forget that it was the 1960s campus liberals who marched around singing the praises of Mao, Lenin and Ho Chi Min. The difference between now and then is that many of these liberals have moved up to become congressmen, senators, presidents, college professors and government workers. TSC

A practicing environmentalist responds:

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have a few thoughts regarding your article, "'Population Bomb' was a Dud" published in the *Cincinnati Inquirer* on February 28, 1999. Your article is based on two excerpts of Ted Turner's speech at the 27th annual meeting of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association. I agree with Mr. Turner that the issue of overpopulation requires attention. However, each country must solve its own population problem based on individual circumstances. ...Every sovereign nation should live within the limit of its resources and be responsible for the consequences of not doing so. The United States has a duty to itself and the world to stabilize U.S. population to reduce the burden on global natural resources and to serve as model for other nations.

As you assert, the forecast of food shortages and starvation by Paul Ehrlich are inaccurate. However, the most important point of Ehrlich's message is that there are limits to the world. Continual increase in U.S. population contributes to the depletion of our natural resource base. Each year we are experiencing the loss of wetlands, upland and riparian forest, tallgrass prairie, groundwater resources and the threat of extinction for native plants and animals. Human populations increase demand for space, commodities and amenities from ecosystems. The earth has finite resources and depends on functioning ecosystems to meet human needs. We must not deny posterity the life-enriching opportunities to experience the solitude and renewal of spirit provided by ecosystems....

"Your flippant conclusion that no relationship exists between high population, disaster and poverty requires some attention."

Your flippant conclusion that no relationship exists between high population, disaster and poverty requires some attention. Dr. Maurice King of the department of public health medicine at the University of Leeds, England, has devoted his career to saving lives. He has observed how excess population inflicts famine on many parts of the Third World and how the population plague is engulfing more countries every year. When Third World populations exceed the biological carrying capacity of their territory, the distribution of food increases fertility. Countries suffering from chronic famine are morally obliged to control their fertility in return for assistance, otherwise the number of diseased and starved human beings ratchets upward.

Craig A. Straub, Ph.D. *lives in Cincinnati and works in the field of environment restoration. He has written previously for* The Social Contract, *most notably with an illuminating interview of ecologist Garrett Hardin.*

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A classic example of disaster resulting from high population comes from Nepal where the distribution of food and medicine increased fertility. Nepal is located in the Himalayan Mountains which contain fuel in the form of trees. An increase in fertility elevated the demand for timber resulting in deforestation, which caused soil to lose stability and absorptive water holding capacity, causing floods to rise higher and faster. In 1974, the Nepalese energy famine caused the flooding of Bangladesh, killing thousands of people.

The statement regarding placement of the world's population into the United States overlooks the concept of carrying capacity. The story of the Kaibab Plateau (North of the Grand Canyon) deer population illustrates biological carrying capacity. The plateau was originally capable of sustaining 40,000 deer. Wolves, cougars and coyotes limited the deer population to less than the plateau's carrying capacity. When bounties encouraged hunters to kill the deer's natural predators, the deer population went from a few thousand to 50,000. Once the carrying capacity was exceeded, the deer consumed the life support system and scarified the landscape. The carrying capacity of the Kaibab Plateau plunged to 10,000 as 4 out of 5 deer starved to death.

When evaluating the human situation, we add reference to the "cultural carrying capacity," which is the reduction of carrying capacity to support cultural luxuries such as quality food (fish, steak, chicken, salad), clothing, housing and vacation. This concept raises the question, "At what level of quality are you willing to live?" If one decides to eat only plants, then five times as many people can live on the same piece of land. If one enjoys a glass of wine with their steak then more land is required to grow grapes and corn for the cultural luxuries of wine and beef. We have two choices: (1) maximize the number of individuals living at the lowest level of comfort; or (2) optimize the quality of life for a much smaller population. Would you relinquish your cultural luxuries to support universalism?

One of the most vital aspects of population growth is immigration. The United States population is increasing at about 3 million people per year, over half this growth is attributed to immigration (legal and illegal). The issue of immigration is complex and requires an integrated view of ecology, economics, demography, sociology and epidemiology to gain an informed perspective about immigration. As an ecological conservative, I believe the world has a limited natural resource base, where exceeding the carrying capacity becomes a population issue which contributes to depletion of the natural resource base. Immigration is a population issue...

To assess the impact of population on economics, George Borjas, an economist at Harvard University, conducted a study which concluded that immigration may be responsible for one-third of growing economic inequality in America as native workers lose about $133 billion per year in depressed wages (Borjas, 1995). Borjas has also concluded that the U.S. has become an immigrant welfare magnet and immigrants account for a disproportionately large fraction of major benefit programs... (Borjas and Hilton, 1996).

It is only through a radical paradigm shift that society will be ready to effectively deal with the population-resource equation before it reaches a crisis level that will pose a tragedy to posterity. Consideration of the cultural carrying capacity and prudent management of the natural resource base will ensure that posterity will not be subject to nature's decision-making process [to reduce population by] poverty, starvation and social disorder. Perhaps the "idiot" is he who ignores the consequences of overpopulation. As Dr. Hardin satirizes the beatitude: "Blessed are they that shun reason and praise mercy, for they shall bury those who are both reasonable and merciful" (Hardin, 1996).

Sincerely,
CRAIG A. STRAUB
A Midwest Family Man

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The Kosovo Crisis

Origins and consequences

by Herman Wagenbichler

Kosovo? What does Kosovo mean?" Ten years ago only a few Europeans could have answered that question. This is not surprising. Kosovo, the small southern province of Serbia was of little interest to the average European — a region lacking any spectacular landscapes or architectural gems, not a destination for international tourism. The area is completely mountainous except for one fertile plain named "Kossovo polye" (literally "Blackbird's Field") where the Serbs were defeated by the Turks in a murderous battle on St. Vitus Day (in Serbian: Vidovdan), June 28, 1389, marking the end of medieval Serbia.

When the Serbs, as one of the last waves of Europe's great migrations, entered the Balkan Peninsula about 600 B.C., it was the Byzantine civilization and Eastern Orthodox Church which was responsible for their development. After long periods of constant struggle, with wild campaigns in ever-changing alliances, Prince Stepan Dušan proclaimed himself czar and established a Greater Serbia including Bosnia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania and parts of Greece. This expansion ended rapidly when Stepan died — under his weak and selfish successors all the glory vanished and thirty years later, on *Kossovo polye* the dreams of Greater Serbia were suffocated in blood and tears.

What followed was the Turkish yoke — a much milder yoke than Christian propaganda led us to believe. The Turks rarely intervened in local affairs, were tolerant of religion, and seldom attacked their subjects' properties. What they demanded was loyalty (rebellions were dealt with promptly and bloodily), modest tributes, and the so-called "boy tax" by which, at certain intervals, a number of Christian youngsters were sent to Istanbul to be indoctrinated in Islam and recruited for service in the elite troops of *yeni ceri* or "new forces." These were ill-famed in all Christian armies because of their fanatic fighting spirit. The most gifted among them could make a career at the court or in administration. Many a pasha or vezir had been sired by Christian parents.

This Turkish yoke was Serbia's fate for more than four centuries. Only the Orthodox Church survived (thanks to Turkish tolerance) and it was the church that preserved the nation's identity and pride. It was also the church that created the myth of Vidovdan: the grand, heroic Serbian nation, fighting for the true faith being left alone by other Christian nations to fight the infidel in the face of overwhelming superior strength. Such a nation could only be defeated by treason — and, unfortunately, there is evidence that treachery indeed played a role in the battle of *Kossovo polye*. One could hardly invent more ingredients for a national legend so that a national trauma becomes a national institution of indomitable pride.

After endless altercations with Turkey and constantly supported by Russia, to whom it was connected by Eastern Orthodoxy and pan-Slavism as well as mutual hostility toward the Turks, Serbia achieved independence in 1878. This was only the northern part of the country. Kosovo was added 35 years later. The realization of a Greater Serbia (Yugoslavia) had to wait through more wars culminating with World War I, the trigger for which was the assassination at Sarajevo of Austria's "Successor to the Throne" Archduke Ferdinand by a young Serb fanatic on the anniversary of Vidovdan, June 28, 1914.

The Serbia of 1878, newly independent and soon to be a monarchy, was a kingdom of small-farm peasants. Gradually, in the north, along the borders

Herman Wagenbichler, *a graduate of the Karl Franzens University Medical School in Graz, Austria, has had a life-long interest in the culture and politics of the Balkans. He lived in Slovenia between 1942 and 1945 and has frequently visited Yugoslavia.*

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with Western Europe, the Serbs started energetic efforts to overcome backwardness and poverty. This brought about a migration to the North toward the magnet of prosperity, leaving Kosovo to be gradually emptied of ethnic Serbs.

From early times there had been Albanians in Kosovo, especially in the south. Held in contempt because of their Muslim religion and their poverty, many a Serb was glad to "sell his hat or his field" to an Albanian neighbor as he migrated north. And here begins what the Serbs call the "Albanian aggression." The Albanians took over village after village, the flat land and the towns. Then, after World War II, the birthrate of the Serbs (along with that of much of Europe) declined dramatically. Meanwhile, the fertility rate of the Kosovo Albanians remained the highest in all Europe, and is still in the top ten in the world. The Serbs perceive this as a dangerous and irresistible form of aggression, without noise or bloodshed.

By 1990, when Milosovic abolished the autonomy of the province of Kosovo (which had been ceded to it by Tito — a Croat, not a Serb), the Albanian population had increased to 90 percent. Whenever there had been hope of a peaceful arrangement between the ethnic groups it had been destroyed in later years by terror, suppression and humiliation.

In the fall of 1998 the Albanian resistance turned from passive to active. The discipline of their passivity had been admired in the West but brought about further Serbian contempt.

The positions of both sides are clear: The Albanians demand their independence in close association, if not union, with Albania proper. Any convivium with Serbia or Serbians seems unimaginable.

On the Serbian side there is no doubt that Kosovo, "Serbia's Holy Heart," has to be maintained at any price. No Serb government could ever dare give it up. As for the Albanian majority, the intruders must disappear, be it by flight over the mountains to Albania, or by "ethnic purification" as was carried out a few years ago in Bosnia.

The position of the Western powers was ambiguous from the very beginning. Yugoslavia, just

Looking Back for a Longer View

[*This report from Kosovo dates back to 1987.*]

Portions of Southern Yugoslavia have reached such a state of ethnic friction that Yugoslavs have begun to talk of the horrifying possibility of civil war. ...The current hostilities pit ethnic-minded Albanians against the various Slavic populations of Yugoslavia and occur at all levels of society, from the highest officials to the humblest peasants. A young army conscript of ethnic Albanian origin shot up his barracks, killing four sleeping Slavic bunkmates and wounding six others. The army has uncovered hundreds of subversive ethnic Albanian cells in its ranks. Some arsenals have been raided. Ethnic Albanians in the government have manipulated public funds and regulations to take over land belonging to Serbs. ...Slavic Orthodox churches have been attacked, and flags have been torn down. Wells have been poisoned and crops burned. Slavic boys have been knifed, and some young ethnic Albanians have been told by their elders to rape Serbian girls.

Ethnic Albanians comprise the fastest growing nationality in Yugoslavia and are expected soon to become its third largest, after the Serbs and Croats. The goal of the radical nationalists among them, one said in an interview, is an ethnic Albania that includes western Macedonia, southern Montenegro, part of southern Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania itself. That includes large chunks of the republics that make up the southern half of Yugoslavia.

The principal battleground in the region is called Kosovo, a high plateau ringed by mountains that is somewhat smaller than New Jersey. Ethnic Albanians make up 85 percent of the population of 1.7 million. The rest are Serbs and Montenegrins. As Slavs flee the protracted violence Kosovo is becoming what ethnic Albanian nationalists have been demanding for years, and especially strongly since the bloody rioting by ethnic Albanians in Pristina in 1981, an ethnically pure Albanian region. ...The violence, a journalist in Kosovo said, is escalating to the worst in the last seven years.

Last summer the authorities in Kosovo said they documented 40 ethnic Albanian attacks on Slavs in two months. ...In one incident, Fadil Hoxha, once the leading politician of ethnic Albanian origin in Yugoslavia, joked at an official dinner in Prizren last year that Serbian women should be used to satisfy potential ethnic Albanian rapists. ... While 200,000 Serbs and Montenegrins still live in the province, they are scattered and lack cohesion. In the last seven years 20,000 of them have fled the province, often leaving behind farmsteads and houses for the safety of the Slavic north.

— *The New York Times*, November 1, 1987

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like Czechoslovakia in being an invention of the peacemakers after World War I, was considered a bastion of stability on the Balkan Peninsula and a reliable anti-German fortress in a region full of tension and imponderables — not forgetting that the Serbs had proved to be allies of remarkable fighting strength.

But here also we have the Kosovo Albanians, a strange, half-exotic people. And they are Muslims. In the eyes of Europe, an independent Kosovo would be, after Bosnia, a second Islamic state. There are also growing Albanian minorities in Macedonia and Greece. It could mean a chain of new troubles.

Anglo-Saxon countries in general can hardly reckon with nationalistic conflicts with any kind of sympathy and understanding. The West thinks now in terms of the economy. There is a "religious" belief in the omnipotence of the free market with the aim of globalization. There is little room in such a scheme for the stubbornness of small nations.

But we dare not forget that nations rather than economic systems are the real cornerstones of human history. Behold the Albanians — for more than four thousand years they have lived in their mountains, obscure descendants of the legendary Illyrians. How many empires have passed — Alexander the Great, Rome, the Ottomans, the merchants of Venice — and still they exist.

There is no doubt that if the Serbs had pursued their political goals in another way, more moderate, less rude, not provoking the sensibilities of the rest of the world, they might have carried through. But the system of "ethnic purification" they had carried out in Bosnia and Slavonia brought revulsion to Western minds. Warfare on the Balkan Peninsula was always notorious for its archaic cruelty: atrocities and torture have been the rule rather than the exception. But world public opinion cannot support genocide disguised as ethnic purification. (This might be a new thought for the Serbs who enjoyed the permission and blessings of the West when they "purified" themselves of a German minority of 650,000 in 1945, in spite of tens of thousands dead.)

Is peace possible in Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia? There is so much hatred and deadly bitterness on both sides that only a clear separation of the nations can bring an end to hostilities.

There is little hope for experiments in multiculturalism. Nowhere in the present world can one find an encouraging example of genuine multiculturalism. It does not work in Bosnia; pull the peacekeepers out of the country and the explosions begin. Democracy is obviously not a fertile soil for multiculturalism. Democracy demands integration, which is the opposite of cultural diversity. Though it remains a favorite ideal in liberal circles it cannot be denied that multicultural societies, where they have existed in human history, were rare sidereal hours of duration.

For Kosovo, any other solution than an acknowledgment of the right of Albanian self-determination would perpetuate the current crisis for a long time to come, and Europe will no longer tolerate wars, nor endless quarrels, nor maliciously provoked streams of expellees inside its frontiers.

For Serbia, the loss of Kosovo seems inevitable — a bitter pill, but considering the fertility rate of the Albanians they might be glad to be rid of them. Together in a common state they would be hopelessly out numbered within two generations in all of Serbia, let alone in the province of Kosovo.

Finally, Europe must find a way to get Serbia out of the isolation in which it is imprisoned. What they are going through now is a kind of "twilight of the gods" — having for so long been everybody's darling in East and West, they now find themselves defamed as Europe's chief rascals. Their losses of territory are considerable, their self-esteem is deeply wounded. Perhaps it would be wise to allow them unification with Serbian Bosnia. And certainly it would be wise to avoid the humiliations they could never forgive. What they urgently need is advancement in economy, social progress, standards of life, and a sweeping away of the residuals of communism — including President Milosevic.

[*Editor's note: Obviously this article was written prior to the opening of NATO's bombing campaign but we felt our readers would benefit from a European's view of the situation.*] TSC

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Tending the Tree of Knowledge

Building bridges among the disciplines

Book Review by Seth Dunn

As the widely dreaded senior essay approached during my final fall in college in 1992, I decided to write about the historical roots of climate change science, and how it was shaping and in turn being shaped by the emerging global warming debate. But I encountered an unexpected roadblock: I could not find an advisor for the project in the department of history (my primary major); and in the environmental studies department (my second major) I faced resistance from one of my supervisors — a geologist who was then a "greenhouse skeptic." After some effort, I finally gained the support of the environmental studies program director, and the reluctant patronage of a foreign policy historian.

Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge
by Edward O. Wilson
New York: Random House
408 pages, $14.00 paper

My research began in the geology library, where I tracked down the findings of scientists examining the "geosphere" — climatologists, oceanographers, and other *earth* scientists looking into the rising atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide and its relation to an observed rise in global surface temperature. But to understand the implications of a changing climate for humans and other forms of life, I had to move next door to the biology tower, where I explored the work of ecologists and other *life* scientists who study the "biosphere." Both groups are now working together furiously at the boundary of the geosphere and the biosphere, attempting to study the earth as a dynamic, whole system — and to assess the consequences of tampering with it.

Next I found myself trudging to the other end of the campus to the history and rare books archives, where I sifted the minds of Archimedes, James Lovelock, and others who foresaw the need to understand our planet as a rarified unity. Finally, I needed to examine whether the interaction of science and policy on previous international environmental issues — zone layer depletion, in particular — might shed some light on the ongoing interplay of climate politics and science; this took me once again across the campus to the social science and forestry school libraries. The journey was a simultaneously exhilarating and frightening experience, and taught me a lesson in environmental problem-solving: there is no clear, simple way forward, and some may think your route wrong, so follow your inner compass of curiosity and dance between the disciplines — and try not to accumulate too many overdue book fines.

My foray into writing a senior essay is a microcosm of the cross-disciplinary collaboration now taking place on climate change and other key environmental issues: endocrine disruptors, desertification, the resurgence of infectious diseases, deforestation, growing disparities in resource use. The need to better comprehend and develop approaches for solving these problems is pulling together researchers from what appear to be far-flung fields: virology, philosophy, anthropology, toxicology, and oceanography, to name mere a few. To understand the risks of climate change, for example, we must integrate the knowledge of paleoclimatologists,

***Seth Dunn** is Research Associate at the Worldwatch Institute. This review is reprinted with permission from* World Watch, *March/April 1999.*

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epidemiologists, and wetlands ecologists; to reduce them, we must pool what is known by welfare economists, engineers, and hydrogen scientists.

This "jumping together" of facts and theory across disciplines — christened "consilience" by scientific philosopher William Whewell in 1840 — is the subject of Edward O. Wilson's latest book. Bridging knowledge between fields in both the humanities and the sciences is not merely an intellectual exploration into human nature, writes the Pulitzer Prize-winning Harvard professor: it is the sword that can cut the Gordian knot of global environmental threats confronting our species. These long-term problems — population growth, the loss of biodiversity, accelerating climate change — will appear insoluble and remain intractable if we do not attempt consilience by connecting the seemingly disconnected.

In this book Wilson turns from his background in entomology to epistemology, exhuming the philosophical and scientific roots of our planetary plight. The dean of biodiversity begins his quest with Enlightenment thinkers such as Sir Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, and Galileo Galilei. To them, linking the sciences and humanities was the greatest enterprise of the mind. But scholarship today, says Wilson, is characterized by an "ongoing fragmentation of knowledge." Enlightenment thought is relevant now, as many of our real-world dilemmas require us to integrate information from wide-ranging disciplines. Bringing light to the some two billion rural poor who lack electricity, for example, necessitates an understanding of climate, energy technology, economics, finance, and local culture.

To illustrate this point, Wilson draws environmental policy, ethics, social science, and biology as four separate quadrants in a box. Intuitively, we think of these domains as connected. But "each stands apart in the contemporary academic mind," says Wilson, with its own practitioners, languages, and methods.

Without the ability to integrate and synthesize disparate data, the more unstable and disorienting it becomes to move closer to the intersection of these disciplines. We need a road map to guide us — to point out the ethical reasoning for sound environmental policy, the sociological basis for ethical reasoning, and the biological underpinnings of our social behavior. Raised as a devout Christian, Wilson stresses the need to pay closer attention to the "deep springs of ethical behavior." By exploring the biology behind ethics, "we should be able to fashion a wiser and more enduring ethical consensus than has gone before."

"...few college students, opinion shapers, or policy makers are equipped to address the relation between science and the humanities..."

One pertinent example is the ability of governments to come up with effective policies for protecting the world's disappearing forest reserves. The ethical guidelines that prevail today largely disregard our knowledge of ecology. And the diverse environmental goods and services provided by forests — watershed and disease protection, non-timber forest products, carbon storage — are only beginning to be translated into the language of economics. Lacking the ability to accurately value forests, we continue to cut them down at record rates.

Designing sound forest and other environmental policies will "depend on the ease with which the educated public, not just intellectuals and political leaders, can think around these and similar circuits, starting at any point and moving in any direction." Yet few college students, opinion shapers, or policy makers are equipped to address the relation between science and the humanities, and its important for human welfare. And few, if any, of humanity's pressing problems — ethnic strife, arms buildup, poverty, overpopulation, environmental disruption — can be solved without consilience. Writes Wilson,

> *Only fluency across the boundaries will provide a clear view of the world as it really is, not as seen through the lens of ideologies and*

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religious dogmas or commanded by myopic response to immediate need.

Indeed, the majority of today's political leaders, public intellectuals, media interrogators, and think-tank gurus are, so to speak, undisciplined in interdisciplinary thinking. Most are trained exclusively in the social sciences and humanities, and their analyses — however well-intentioned — stem from a wisdom base Wilson labels "fragmented and lopsided." How qualified to advise on environmental policy are White House economists preoccupied with the near-term economic and political system — annual growth rates, four-year election cycles — but

"The discipline-centric education that enabled us to industrialize the earth may not necessarily help us to heal the damage this industrialization has caused."

untrained in maintaining the environmental life-support systems within which all economies and polities are embedded? A balanced perspective requires a bridging of disciplines — not studying them solely as in distinct pieces. This will not be easily accomplished, Wilson acknowledges. But consilience promises to increase the diversity and depth of knowledge, and improve the state of the species and its environment.

I think it inevitable that we will accept the adventure, go there, and find out.

Wilson leads the reader on a fast-paced tour across a diverse and often difficult landscape extending from the history of ideas to cutting-edge science. He summons the spirit of Bacon, who

informs us across four centuries that we must understand nature, both around us and within ourselves, in order to set humanity on the course of self-improvement.

Bacon, in his call for shifting away from rote learning and toward engagement with the world to reach "unified learning," also reminds us that interdisciplinary, environmental education is not so new an idea. This concept has, however, become an urgent necessity today; as environmental educator David Orr has observed. The discipline-centric education that enabled us to industrialize the earth may not necessarily help us to heal the damage this industrialization has caused.

Newton, Galileo, and others responded to Bacon's call for empirical thinking, setting in motion the scientific revolution that gave rise to the Enlightenment — called by historian Isaiah Berlin "one of the best and most hopeful episodes in the life of mankind." By the nineteenth century, however, interest in unified knowledge resulting from the reductionist approach — what Wilson calls "descent to minutissima." The spirit of the whole was sustained by a few, notably Alexander von Humboldt, who preferred nature's interrelationships to narrow specialization (see Aaron Sachs, "Humboldt's Legacy and the Restoration of Science," *WorldWatch*, March/April 1995.) But by and large the trend was toward specialization, and in breaking reality into smaller pieces we have become deficient at putting the pieces back together, and thus in viewing the big picture.

In Wilson's eyes, the rift between science and the humanities has now reached its extreme: many in the humanities have reached a post-modernistic delusion that we can know nothing, while scientific reductionism has convinced some that we can know, everything. In 1959 the Oxford physicist C. P. Snow wrote that the polarization between the sciences and the humanities

is sheer loss to us all. To us as people, and to our society. It is at the same time practical and intellectual and creative loss.

But we must now update Snow's observation in include environmental loss, such as biological impoverishment, climate disruption, and other large-scale human disturbances that arise from what he called "the overspecialization of the educated elite": humanists who cannot understand the ecological implications of their behavior, and scientists who

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neglect the social ramifications of their discoveries.

The way to end Snow's culture wars and unite the two branches of learning, Wilson argues, is

> *to view the boundary between the literary and scientific cultures not as a territorial line but as a broad and mostly unexplored terrain awaiting cooperative entry from both sides.*

The social science best poised to bridge this gap may be economics, but this discipline needs an infusion of psychology and biology if it is to better understand why people lean toward and act upon certain preferences. Why, for example, do people not buy energy-efficient products even when it is "cost-effective" for them to do so?

In contemplating the environmental basis of our existence, Wilson believes we are "still primitives compared to what we might become." Hunter-gatherers and college-educated urbanites alike we are aware of fewer than one in a thousand of the kinds of organisms that surround them, and know very little about the biological and physical processes that create air, water, and soil. Naturalists spend lifetimes uncovering minute fragments of ecosystems, leaving little time to step back at the larger system. By understanding our terrain and the human relationship to that terrain more completely, Wilson asserts, we can

> *arrive home in the world for which the evolution of our brain prepared us.... Now. With the sciences and the arts combined, we have it all.*

To the author, overpopulation and the destruction of the environment are at the forefront of global problems grounded in the idiosyncrasies of human nature.

> *A very Faustian choice is upon us: whether to accept our corrosive and risky behavior as the unavoidable price of population and economic growth, or to take stock of ourselves and search for a new environmental ethic.*

Humanity, "a household living giddily off natural capital," considers itself exempt from the laws of ecology, and in doing so risks reducing Earth to a wasteland, and humanity to a threatened species — a risk that is "enough ... to change thinking about human preservation fundamentally."

Our many troubling economic trends would seem to shore up the author's expectation of a twenty-first century environmental bottle-neck — one that could cause the unfolding of a new type of history driven environmental change, or perhaps the old kind of history: the collapse of civilizations, like Mesopotamia or the Mayans, that overstepped their carrying capacities. Population control and technological advance can help us squeeze through this bottleneck, but the single greatest obstacle to environmental realism is our ecological myopia, best seen in the failure of economic systems to incorporate benefits provided by natural systems and the costs of resource-depleting or environmentally damaging behavior. Wilson's religiosity resurfaces here, in his appeal for a "powerful conservation ethic" and to the responsibility of "preserving the Creation by taking as much of the rest of life with us as possible."

"...the single greatest obstacle to environmental realism is our ecological myopia, best seen in the failure of economic systems to incorporate benefits provided by natural systems and the costs of resource-depleting or environmentally damaging behavior"

There are encouraging signs of movement toward consilience. Scientists, social scientists, and humanists are crossing the cultural divide to discuss "thinking ecologically," environmental history, and the human dimensions of global change. Through Trojan-horse reformers like Herman Daly, ecological economics is becoming less of an oxymoron. Orr's Oberlin College has broken ground for a new Environmental Studies Center. Church and faith groups are becoming activists on issue of climate change, corporate environmental responsibility, and endangered species. At Wilson's Harvard University, the Center for the

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Study of World Religions has created a Forum on Religion and Ecology to focus on the role that Eastern and Western religions can play in contributing to environmental debates and in shaping public policy initiatives.

But we are territorial creatures, and have yet to fully evolve the critical trait of interdisciplinary altruism. The disconnect between environmental science and policymaking — between what must be done and what is done — is especially evident in the international climate talks (in Kyoto, scientist Robert Watson wondered aloud whether those negotiating language related to forests even knew what a tree looked like). International organizations like the World Bank (Daly's former employer) are struggling mightily and with mixed results to figure sustainability into their neoclassical, market-based worldviews. Echoing Wilson, U.S. Vice President Al Gore recently wrote of "the politics of scientific illiteracy" that impedes public support for stronger action on environmental problems. On most college and university campuses, environmental studies programs remain rare or endangered species — where they exist at all.

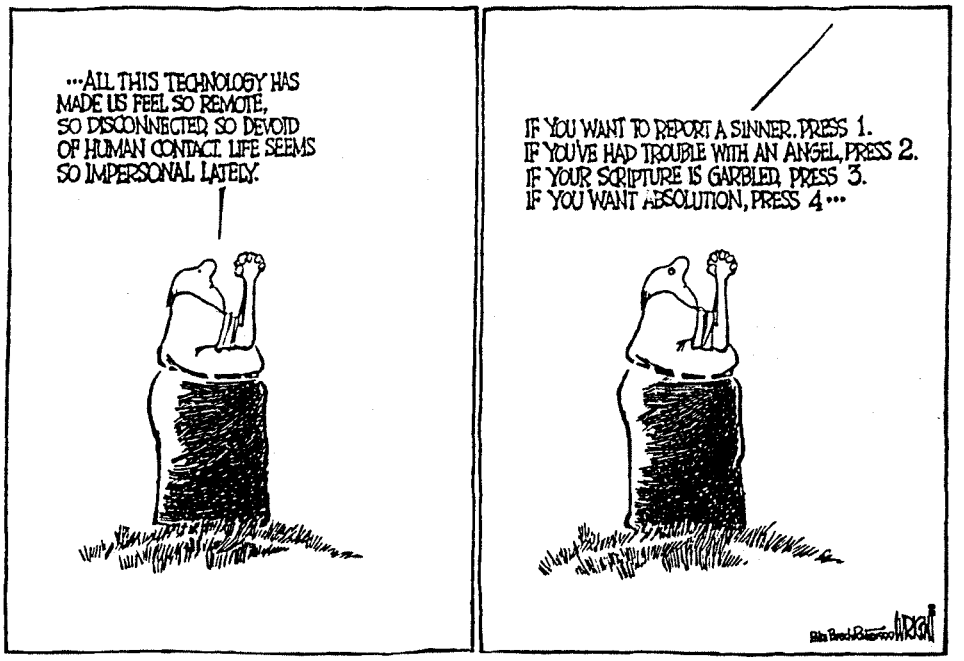
Ethics is, as the author asserts, everything, and our progress toward more integrated learning may reflect our ability to recognize, and act upon, our moral responsibility tor the future. An environmental ethic can, however, be encouraged not only by eco-preaching, but also by conveying to others the pure joy of jumping across intellectual boundaries that are barriers only in the all-too-modern mind. In the end, we may each need to experience in our own way what Wilson did as an undergraduate studying natural history: an Ionian Enchantment, or the belief that

> *when we have unified enough certain knowledge, we will understand who we are and why we are here.*

Such is the unspoken sentiment of this illuminating and important work, which ends with a personal act of consilience, the author blending his inner Baptist and biologist in a summation that is at once thundering moral sermon and cool scientific appraisal.

> *To the extent that we depend on prosthetic devices to keep ourselves and our biosphere alive, we will render everything fragile. To the extent that we banish the rest of life, we will impoverish our own species for all time. And if we should surrender our genetic nature to machine-aided ratiocination, and our ethics and art and our very meaning to a habit of careless discursion in the name of progress, imagining ourselves godlike and absolved from our ancient heritage, we will become nothing.*

TSC


...ALL THIS TECHNOLOGY HAS MADE US FEEL SO REMOTE, SO DISCONNECTED, SO DEVOID OF HUMAN CONTACT. LIFE SEEMS SO IMPERSONAL LATELY.
IF YOU WANT TO REPORT A SINNER, PRESS 1.
IF YOU'VE HAD TROUBLE WITH AN ANGEL, PRESS 2.
IF YOUR SCRIPTURE IS GARBLED, PRESS 3.
IF YOU WANT ABSOLUTION, PRESS 4...

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Demographic Warfare

Cooking census numbers around the world

Book Review by Samuel Francis

Although Milica Zarkovic Bookman never directly discusses the ongoing massive non-European immigration into the United States and other nation-states mainly populated by European-descended peoples, what she does have to say about how different ethnic groups, races, and nationalities compete with each other for residential territory by moving into or out of that territory is highly relevant to the American and European immigration crisis. Some years ago, I used (and may have coined) the expression "demographic warfare" to describe the concept of instigating mass population movements as means of competing for and gaining power. Although Mrs. Bookman does not use the term, her book is a fairly exhaustive study of just this practice. While it is somewhat unfortunate she did not look more closely at immigration into the United States from Mexico in particular and the rest of Latin America in general as an instance of the demographic struggle for power, it is precisely because she did not do so that what she does have to tell us about other population movements becomes more clearly relevant to our own situation.

The Demographic Struggle for Power: The Political Economy of Demographic Engineering in the Modern World
by Milica Zarkovic Bookman
London: Frank Cass
273 pages, $27.00 softcover

Much of what she recounts has to do with manipulating censuses as a way of minimizing or maximizing the numbers of certain groups within a state's boundaries. By denying that a particular group exists at all, the governing authorities who run the census can effectively define it out of existence and justify policies based on the assumption that rival ethnic groups exist. By defining the group narrowly and contriving to reduce the count of its members, the authorities can undercut the group's claims to political representation, access to economic resources, educational and cultural consideration, or national independence. By enhancing the numbers of a dominant ethnic group, the authorities can justify increased political power and other privileges for it. Americans familiar with similar monkey shines played with the decennial census — manipulating definitions of various ethnic identities, for example, as well as the controversy over whether to count or rely on "estimates" — will at once see the relevance of the statistical trickery Bookman describes.

Yet shenanigans with the census are only one of the weapons in the arsenal of demographic warriors that the author discusses. Others include pronatalist or antinatalist policies of the state designed to increase or decrease the numbers of particular ethnic groups and various kinds of assimilation policy intended to heighten or reduce ethnic conflicts. It is in perusing the latter sections that the American reader concerned with immigration policy will perceive the relevance of the book to his interests.

Bookman is keenly aware that the instruments of assimilation are also instruments of power. Thus, with respect to education she writes, "education is crucial to the concept of national integration and state-building. Since the educational system is an instrument of socialization, the curricula tend to serve national purposes." That is quite true, of course, and the first example she offers is that of the United States, where "public schools students are expected to salute the flag daily, take courses in civics and are exposed to the President's photograph in each classroom." Actually, the example is rather dated; I have just read

Samuel Francis *is a nationally syndicated columnist who writes frequently on issues of immigration and the American culture .*

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a news story recounting how a California public school has decided to drop observance of "Black History Month" because Hispanic students complained that while blacks got an entire month, Hispanics were getting only a single day (Cinco de Mayo). Which flag these students are expected to salute every day in their school is perhaps problematic.

"[The author] barely mentions the voluntary sort of movement known as immigration. Indeed, the word "immigration" does not even appear in the index, though it is clearly a means by which some ethnic groups can increase their own power and reduce that of others."

If education is one instrument for assimilation, language is another.

> *Language is the glue that holds societies together, therefore language policy constitutes the backbone of a country's assimilation efforts.... Language is the expression of the character of a people. Indeed, when a non-titular people press for cultural rights within a dominant culture, the right to use their language is primary. Thus, the language programme is crucial because it is viewed as an instrument of history, through which the group identifies itself, and it is the symbol of the future, through which a program for the future may be formulated and executed.*

Thus, bilingual education, through which the native languages of immigrants is perpetuated, may be seen as an instrument of demographic warfare that allows for perpetuating the distinct identity of immigrants and discourages their assimilation, while imposing bilingualism on native students serves to subvert the linguistic dimension of their own cultural and national identity and to dissolve the "glue" that holds their own society together. *Alien Nation* author Peter Brimelow has recently noted that there are now, according to the 1990 census, some 5 million persons under the age of five in the United States who do not speak English well. These are not immigrants but the children of immigrants, indicating the emergence of a linguistically unassimilated population within the United States. More recently, *The Washington Post* noted (Feb. 6, 1999) "the emergence of Spanish as a lingua franca of American life." The emergence of languages other than English suggests further dissolution of the national "glue" and the incipient solidification of an alternative glue that holds together an alternative society.

In addition to assimilation, demographic power-tripping also involves outright movements of population, and though Mrs. Bookman discusses involuntary population movements in depth, she barely mentions the voluntary sort of movement known as immigration. Indeed, the word "immigration" does not even appear in the index, though it is clearly a means by which some ethnic groups can increase their own power and reduce that of others. The collapse of immigration control as an issue for the Republican Party is largely due to Republicans' perception that the issue alienates Hispanics and that their party cannot win national and some state elections without more Hispanic support. Hispanic leaders themselves are also keenly aware of the power implications of Hispanic immigration.

Nevertheless, despite the absence of discussion of immigration, the book's examination of "forced population movements" remains relevant to the consequences of immigration. Thus, one kind of forced population movement is "ethnic dilution," by which "ethnic leaders resettle populations in order to dilute the population of the receiving region.... These dilutions are often couched in misleading terms to mask their true intent." Examples she offers include the Israeli colonization of the Golan Heights to dilute the Arab population there and the transfer of Romanians into Transylvania to dilute the Hungarian population of the region, but it would not have been amiss to mention Mexican immigration into the southwestern United States. It is clear that the government of Mexico refuses to control illegal immigration from its side of the border, and it may be

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reasonably suspected that the Mexican authorities (or at least some of them) would like to dilute the American population of the southwest in order to advance their own political agendas (including perhaps reconquest of that part of the United States). While the immigration of Mexicans is not "forced," it is not exactly discouraged either, and Bookman does mention the "unintended ethnic dilution" caused in southern Florida by the Mariel boatlift of 1980 and the arrival every year in the United States of some 5,000 illegal aliens by raft. "These migrations have unequivocally altered the ethnic ratios in South Florida." Similar migrations, as demographer William Frey has shown, have unequivocally altered the ethnic ratios in other parts of the Untied States where large numbers of non-white aliens have settled.

One reason native whites migrate to other regions because of immigration has to do with other aspects of the struggle for ethnic power that Mrs. Bookman describes. Thus, "harassment to induce departure" means that "people will leave their homes, their land and their jobs if conditions are made sufficiently difficult for their continued survival." Crime, racial harassment, economic competition for jobs, and different standards of conduct associated with immigration are among the concrete reasons white Americans have fled parts of their own country in recent years. Similarly, what the author calls "cultural cleansing" consists of "ethnic groups [being] pressured into leaving a territory if the symbols of their culture are eradicated." When Cinco de Mayo is celebrated instead of July 4th (or for that matter Black History Month) and Mexican immigrants can boo, shout down, and spit on Americans who sing "The Star Spangled Banner," as they did at a soccer game in San Diego last year, then the symbols of one culture are being eradicated.

Quite aside from its clear relevance to the immigration issue in North America, Europe, and Australia, however, this book is a highly valuable account of population, cultural, and ethnic policies in recent history and throughout the world. An appendix of some 30 pages or more offers brief, highly factual accounts of ethnic conflicts all over the world that serves as a useful reference tool. Her book's main value is that it looks at migration and population in terms of power — specifically, ethnic, racial, and national power — and makes clear the relationship between demography and power in ways that most political scientists and demographers have not examined. Neither, for that matter, have most Americans, and when more people on both sides of the political and ideological fence start thinking of the population movements and changes that the United States is now experiencing as phenomena that eventually will determine who has power and who loses it, who becomes dominant and who will be subordinated, then the political struggle over immigration may revive. Milica Bookman's monograph is an excellent place to start thinking about a dimension of power and conflict that few have thought about at all. TSC

The Latest Immigration Scam

Hurricane Mitch struck the Central American nations of Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala with a force of almost biblical proportions, killing thousands and making tens of thousands homeless and jobless.

Now the illegal-immigrant lobby is using the disaster as a way of forcing its dubious agenda on this generous nation.

During the effort by the Soviet Union and its puppets to subvert and communize Central America in the 1980s, tens of thousands of residents of those countries fled northward and settled in the United States, most of them illegally. Few have returned home, in spite of the Soviet Union's collapse, the end of civil war and the triumph of democracy in the region.

Left-liberal groups like La Raza would like things to stay that way. For years, they have lobbied Congress to allow Central Americans who arrived illegally before 1990 to stay permanently. The argument is that the Central American nations devastated by Mitch "can't" absorb those living illegally in America. That makes no sense.

The real question is: can these countries afford *not* to bring them back? Who, after all, is going to rebuild those nations if not their strongest and best people?

— Editorial comment in the *New York Post*
November 29, 1998

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Another Way to See 2050

U.S. becomes a majority-minority nation

Book Review by Leon F. Bouvier

To regular readers of *The Social Contract*, I suspect that the title of this new book will prove intriguing. Much has been said and written about the changing racial composition of the United States in the 21st century and perhaps this is yet another analysis of these projections. Again, to regular readers of this journal the author's name may be unfamiliar.

Let's set matters straight. While this book deals with the racial changes that are already transpiring in the nation, it is not a demographic treatise. Rather, it is an examination of the young people of America and how they are reacting to the massive changes going on in their own world.

The Color of Our Future
by Farai Chideya
New York: William Morrow and Co.
272 pages, $23.00

As to the author, she is an African-American whose father is Zimbabwean and mother is an American Black. Ms. Chideya is an *ABC News* correspondent and is the author of *Don't Believe the Hype: Fighting Cultural Misinformation About African Americans*. If the reader is looking for a well-written "journalistic" publication dealing with the changing racial composition of the nation, then he or she may find this book both informative and challenging.

The author begins by summarizing the now-familiar Census Bureau projections for the 21st century. Soon after the millennium the United States will become a majority-minority nation — i.e., no racial group will be in the majority. This is already the case in California, although Chidaye is of the opinion that it has not already taken place there. Then the author develops an interesting approach to the issue. She concentrates on young Americans (i.e, high school and college age) for the simple reason that this group is already "majority-minority." As she states very succinctly:

> *This generation — not just white but black, Latino, Asian, and Native American; not just native-born but immigrant — is both the inheritor and architect of American culture. Today's young adults are paying the price for being different, growing up in an era where the diversity they represent is feared. We can only hope that they will chart a better course for race relations than Americans have in the past, that they will help lead us away from our centuries-long battles. If they do forge a new American identity, it will be because they've learned to work within the multiethnic nation we inhabit, rather than denying or decrying its very existence. Will they learn to work together? Will they yield to or rebel against the wishes of the generations before them? And how will their visions of American life reshape our culture? No one can answer these questions but this generation itself* (p.33).

The author then proceeds to visit numerous areas throughout the country and interview, sometimes in depth, representatives of various racial groups of that age. She begins by discussing the problems the Census Bureau is having defining race, and especially multi-race individuals — or, as she puts it: "others," citing golfer Tiger Woods and his "Cablinasian" label.

Next she heads south to interview an interracial couple in Thomasville, Georgia. She crosses the country to discuss hip-hop and rap music and the culture it is defining. She spends time on a Crow Indian reservation in Wyoming. She, with the assistance of the Census Bureau, locates a city that

Leon F. Bouvier *is adjunct professor of demography at Tulane University, School of Public Health.*

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almost exactly reflects the racial composition of the nation: Aurora, Illinois, (and later) Colorado Springs, Colorado. She visit Oakland, California where she examines the school system and spends considerable time with high school students.

In Chapter 8, the end of affirmative action is discussed, again through the eyes of high school and college students. Both perspectives, pro and con, are presented.

> *Soon California will have no racial majority (sic). The battle over affirmative action, over what helps and hurts racial equality, is no dry academic matter here [in California]* (p.179).

Her next trip is to El Paso where she gets first-hand information on the legal as well as the illegal movements of people across the border. Again, she interviews young people and gets diverse views of the immigration issue. Some opinions are quite surprising.

In her last chapters the author looks at programs that have helped erase racial animosities, mostly in high schools in various parts of the country. Finally she speculates on the future and makes a few "predictions" of her own. Most important:

> *As Americans continue to intermarry, the size and influence of the multiracial community will grow. Over time, the decisions they make about how to classify themselves will reshape the racial landscape* (p.253).

In the final chapter, Chidaye discusses ten ways to deal with diversity. All are worthy of further analysis by anyone interested in the dramatic change that will soon occur in the United States. Her last paragraph is worth repeating here:

> *The changes the next millennium brings will at the very least surpass and quite possibly shatter our current understanding of race, ethnicity, culture, and community. The real test of our strength will be in how willing we are to go beyond the narrowness of our expectations, seek knowledge about the lives of those around us — and move forward with eagerness, not fear* (p.261).

As a descriptive, journalistic approach to this great challenge facing our nation in the new century, one hardly finds fault with the book. It is a fsacinating way to look at the issues — interviewing young Americans of all races. The author clearly has a point of view, and as a fellow liberal I share many of these — especially on affirmative action. However, the book is weak on its demographic side. It states the

"The book is weak on its demographic side. It states the ... projections but never explains how we got that way. The 1965 immigration legislation that caused this incredible shift in racial proportions is never mentioned."

Census Bureau projections but never explains how we got that way. The 1965 immigration legislation that caused this incredible shift in racial proportions is never mentioned. For the reader unfamiliar with the historic precedents, it could lead to the obvious question: "How in the world did this ever happen?" Unfortunately, the author never addresses that question. Nor does she comment on the level of immigration that has contributed so heavily to this shift. An introductory chapter in which to summarize these matters would have been most helpful and made a well-written book even more authoritative.

Other minor distractions should be noted, but some of these are better attributed to the editor than to the author. Statements are repeated on occasion. The quotes from young adults become a little tiresome after a while. The teenage use of the word "like" is repeated over and over again, like! [Some may chalk this up to the age of this reviewer and his unwillingness to accept remodelings of the English language.] Finally, a real index would have been useful.

All in all, this is a book worth reading if only to get a better idea of what our young adults are thinking about as we approach the year 2000 and get ready to live in a much more heterogenous society. TSC

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Population As Destiny

Book Review by Michael W. Masters

> *[I]t is the growth [of population] that causes poverty, and the affluent West can lose its affluence by packing more people in. Poverty is growing in inner cities already.*
>
> — Paul Colinvaux

It is depressing to note just how much political correctness colors perceptions and distorts otherwise sensible thought processes. In the realm of population, perhaps no recent event more vividly illustrates this than the vote of the conservation-minded Sierra Club to take no position as an organization on America's record levels of immigration. Members allowed themselves to be intimidated into conformity by ideologically-motivated shrieks of "racism" and "xenophobia."

As a result, one of the nation's premiere environmental organizations has paradoxically chosen to bury its head in the sand with respect to a major factor that undermines environmental ideals, i.e. burgeoning human numbers. The consequences of this myopia will not go away just because members temporarily ducked the smear campaign. Worse, their fear of name-calling is unfounded. Admittedly some make the case that massive immigration of culturally and ethnically alien peoples brings its own impact on quality of life. But for those too squeamish to face that reality, it is also true that numbers alone will wreak havoc.

Indeed, as the title of biologist Paul Colinvaux's 1980 book, *The Fates of Nations,* implies, the destiny of entire peoples can be wrecked by wrong decisions concerning population numbers. Colinvaux's work is particularly helpful because he thrives on taking beliefs that everybody knows to be true and standing them on their heads, showing that not only are they not true, but that the consequences of continuing to believe them can be counter to long term survival. Among Colinvaux's bon mots:

- Civilizations arise from the technical competence of their founders; rising numbers are merely the consequence of that competence as the civilization is able to feed more and more people.
- Crowding impacts the well-off, who invest heavily in child-rearing, more than the poor, who have little to spend on children.
- Trade, often seen as necessary to cope with growth, is not a solution at all; in reality it is a primary cause of growth, robbing nations and people of self-reliance.
- Repression is the elites' means of preventing the middle class from sharing in the benefits of prosperity — benefits largely created by that middle class.
- Revolutions arise from disaffected middle classes determined to seize their rightful due. (This will no doubt be gratifying news to Dr. Samuel Francis, author of *Revolution from the Middle.*)

The Fates of Nations: A Biological Theory of History
by Paul Colinvaux
New York: Simon & Schuster
383 pages, $12.95

Colinvauz bases his case on the theory of ecological niches — territory, food supply and habitability factors. "Niche sets the size of populations of all animal species." Moreover:

> *People, like other animals, have niches in life. Much of the more violent sort of history comes about as individual people struggle for what they perceive to be their proper ecological niche.*

The concept of animal populations fixed by available resources is well accepted. The same, says Colinvaux, was true for our hunter-gatherer ancestors — but not modern humans.

Michael W. Masters *writes on issues of politics, history, moral philosophy and sociobiology.*

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[O]ur remote ancestors had a superbly effective breeding strategy, but they lived in a fixed niche. Their populations, therefore, remained essentially constant. ...What has changed since those ancient times is not the breeding strategy, but the niche. We have learned to live not only as hunters or gatherers, but as farmers and industrialists as well.

This has allowed human populations to grow exponentially. But numbers, like ideas, have consequences:

We invent new resources to support the expanded niche, just as we invent new ways of feeding. We call this process of creating more niche-space "technology" and "industry." The result is to provide large niche-spaces to larger numbers. But since the earth is finite, there is a limit to the niche-space that can be provided in these ways too. We defer the final poverty but not avoid it... A desirable human niche is, therefore, at the mercy of an unchanged breeding strategy. It is this that has caused the major events of history. [Emphasis added.]

Colinvaux quickly disposes of the popular myth that the much ballyhooed "demographic transition" will provide a solution.

Professional demographers, who make it their business to chart and project the course of human populations, describe the switch to smaller families in wealthier societies as "the demographic transition." Many a demographer ends a speech or article on the rising human population with this "demographic transition" as being a reason for hope. "Let us make the Third World wealthy," they say, "and the population problem will go away." But to find much hope in this is to fail to understand the ecological causes of those smaller families of the wealthy.

He explains:

Smaller families for the rich than for the poor are explained and predicted by the ecological analysis of the human breeding strategy, as we have seen. But this does not mean that numbers in a rich society rise, only that they will rise more slowly.

Nor does this mean that all classes will grow equally. Although Colinvaux treads lightly in this domain, history has shown that what tends to rise is the numbers of those who lack the ability to lift themselves out of poverty. If social policy promotes unconstrained growth of this portion of the population — whether by natural increase or by immigration — the effect will be to squeeze out those whose ability created the standard of living that benefitted all.

Ecology's first law may be written: "All poverty is caused by the continued growth of population." And yet a noisy propaganda is about which denies that rising populations cause poverty. We are told by most eminent politicians and international experts that the rising numbers, far from being a cause of poverty, are in fact a result of poverty.

Colinvaux takes direct aim at self-professed experts who invite us to open our doors to the world's "huddled masses, yearning to breathe free."

Three kinds of assumptions have been made in recent years suggesting that our population growth will stop by itself from some inner dynamic of its own. These assertions have had very wide publicity, for they seem to say that the "population problem" will go away... The thinking behind all three assertions, however, is in grave error.

He adds:

The three erroneous assertions are that populations stop growing as people become wealthy; that the recent "explosive" growth in the world population has been due to medical advances and will go away as people adapt; and that there are signs that the human population is now at the "inflection point," at which numbers will level off as in other kinds of animal, remaining comfortably stationary thereafter. All three of these assertions violate scientific principles and assume that magic is at work in the control of numbers of all living things.

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In the long run, there are likely to be two consequences for the West in allowing the current open-door immigration policy to continue. First, the personal freedoms enjoyed by Western peoples for hundreds, indeed thousands, of years is in jeopardy.

> *Liberty, in the Jeffersonian sense, cannot survive a continual packing-in of people. If our numbers continue to rise on a resource base that expands but little, the future inevitably holds ever greater restrictions on individual freedom.*

Loss of freedom is bad enough. However, worse awaits. Caught between twin jaws of elite control from above and invasion of niche space by immigrants from below, Western men and women, especially middle class ones, are making a fatal choice when it comes to family size.

> *But it is still possible for the human breeding strategy to cause population losses, as well as population gains. This will happen when a community is reduced to such despair that the average opinion of the ideal size of family puts it close to zero. Or, if hope yet allows some couples to start families, then the conditions of the people are so desperate that they cannot succeed. A single generation of desperation can remove a whole community for good.*

It is all too common to hear well-off potential parents professing worry over the cost of rearing children and over the uncertain nature of the future as a prelude to stating their decision to defer or forego entirely the bearing of children. As a consequence, throughout the Western world the birthrate of European-descended women has dropped to an average of 1.7 births per woman or less, well below the 2.1 value required to sustain a stable population.

> *It is to this possibility of near total failure of the breeding effort, not to massacres of adults, that we must look for the decline of populations in history.... The elimination of conquered populations with no better instruments than swords and spears is close to incredible. But people would be just as effectively eliminated from the pages of history if they failed to breed. The only deaths that waste the population then are the result of old age.*

Destruction of entire population groups can be accomplished through theft of habitat.

> *Even more starkly, a conquered people may be removed if they are forced out of their traditional lands. A conquering army can force people to walk away as refugees far more easily than it can rid itself of the nuisance of their presence by killing them.*

Those thus vanquished may retain their lives,

> *but finding resources to raise the traditional number of children is another matter.*

Although Colinvaux does not say so, it is obvious that the same fate awaits those whose homeland is invaded and colonized by so-called peaceful immigration. The sad irony for misguided liberals, who claim they want to do good for everyone, is that such a policy will not lower overall population or eliminate poverty; it will only change the identity of constituent peoples.

> *Although a total population is set by niche, there is nothing in this to say whose offspring will make up that population. All the niche-spaces or jobs made vacant in the next generation by death are going to be filled by somebody's babies. This is where the rather stark proceeding called "Natural selection" operates.... All individuals of all animal kinds are programmed to make and raise the largest possible number of surviving offspring. If they do not, they will be denied a posterity by the more busy breeding efforts of those around them.*

Although Paul Colinvaux's *The Fates of Nations* was published twenty years ago, its premises are grounded in sociobiology and the ecology of populations — scientific principles that transcend time and place. Its lessons are still relevant today, as they will be in the foreseeable future, and its perspective is a valuable one, particularly for new readers unfamiliar with the ecological arguments in favor of stable populations. TSC

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com**.

Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, and a list of books for sale.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring. By listing them here The Social Contract does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- English Language Advocates is a national organization working to make English the official language of government: <elausa.org>
- Information about Affirmative Action for Immigrants is shared by Jim Robb at <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>
- Carrying Capacity Network has a new website at <carryingcapacity.org>
- Negative Population Growth has a new website at: <www.npg.org>
- Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at:<heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration. His web site is: <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- The Sierra Club is at <sierraclub.net>.
- *People and Place* is a journal published by the Centre for Population and Urban Research at Monash University in Australia. They can be reached at <swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- <canadafirst.net> includes much information and thoughtful views from the Canadian Immigration Reform Committee.
- Glenn Spencer leads Voices of Citizens Together at: <americanpatrol.com>.
- <cofcc.org> reaches the Council of Conservative Citizens.
- Columnist Samuel Francis now maintains a website at <www.samfrancis.net>.
- The Biocentric Institute website is prepared by Bill Dickinson at <ultralink/net/IAPM>
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! <fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm>
- PEG is the Political Ecology Group, founders of the "Immigration and Environment Campaign" — a pro-open borders initiative: <igc.org/peg>
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization is at <aztlan.org>.
- <fedpub.com/immigration> brings up Federal Publications, Inc. which has a sub-heading for developments in immigration law.
- The American Immigration Lawyers Association is at <aila.org/home.htm>.
- <lrainc.com/swtaboo/> is based on Garrett Hardin's idea of "stalking the wild taboo."
- "Immigration by the Numbers" is Roy Beck's site at <numbersusa.com>.
- <amren.com> reaches American Renaissance.
- *Politically Incorrect — An On-line Magazine* is at <cyad.com/cvgibin/pinc/july97/index.html>

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <fair@fairus.org> The Federation for American Immigration Reform
- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
- European American News can be reached at <ootrov@hotmail.com>.
- And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address is <soccon@freeway.net>. TSC

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HUMAN POPULATION COMPETITION

A Study of the Pursuit of Power Through Numbers

by Jack Parsons

The author's previous works include two widely read and admired books, *Population Versus Liberty* (1971, UK/1973, US) and *Population Fallacies* (1977, UK). The former has come to be accepted by a number of experts in the field as the standard work on population control vis-à-vis personal freedom. In this new work he argues that although there exists some sound literature on the fear of population decline, the wider topic of an overtly confrontational kind of population competition, often centered on competitive breeding, is almost universally avoided. The analytical frame in which this study is set is that there is an already serious but rapidly growing compound problem of population/poverty/development/pollution and conservation involving a low quality of life for many hundreds of millions, and that anything tending to worsen the situation, such as increases in the already explosive human population growth rate, is seriously dysfunctional. Includes tables, figures, photographs, and very full indexes.

"Jack Parsons has written a compelling book on Human Population Competition. It is an outstanding contribution ... With an existing or even an imminent problem of overpopulation, any factor tending to increase growth rates will exacerbate the situation. He shows that in an uncomfortable number of areas there is such a factor, discussion of which is subject to powerful taboos. Parson then sets these aside and thoroughly analyzes the values and behavior of many groups which are actively pursuing the belief ___ frequently by means of competitive breeding ___ that there is power in numbers ... This superb book carefully documents a wide array of issues while helping the reader to understand the vital population and environment problem."

— Professor David Pimentel, Dept. of Entomology, Cornell University

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Part III: *Human Population competition:* Sexual and population competition in small groups; Who belongs?; Is small really beautiful?; Population quantity vs. quality; Religious population competition; Political population competition; Military population competition; Racial and ethnic group population competition; Economic population competition; Effectiveness of population competition policies.

Part IV: Effectiveness of number-power: Number-power against the environment; in society generally; in war, in population control.

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